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# CONTENTS

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# Report on the Glagolitic Fragments (of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum*?) Discovered on Sinai in 1975 and Some Thoughts on the Models for the Make-up of the Earliest Glagolitic Manuscripts*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

Manuscript finds made on Sinai in 1975 electrified several scholarly communities. In addition to fragments of Greek manuscripts, including over a dozen new folia of the *Codex Sinaiticus* and samples of hitherto unknown preminuscule script, these finds brought to the fore manuscript fragments in Syriac, in Cyrillic, and in Georgian. Unfortunately, access to these finds, let alone their publication, has met with considerable delays; to date, only two preliminary reports, both dating from 1980 and concerning the Greek manuscripts alone, have appeared in scholarly journals; one, by James Charlesworth, stresses biblical manuscripts; the other, more detailed, is by the noted paleographer, the late Linos Politis.[1] On Slavic finds, we have only rumors, and half a page of most rudimentary, if greatly exciting, data.[2] In October of 1981, at the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Vienna, His Eminence Damianos, archbishop of Sinai, announced that a summary catalogue of some of those finds —at least the Greek ones — was in proof and that after its appearance scholarly inquiries would be entertained on a first-come, first-served basis. As a result of

* An earlier version of this paper was delivered at a Bulgarian-American Conference held at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., in November 1981.

[1] James H. Charlesworth, "The Manuscripts of St Catherine's Monastery," *Biblical Archaeologist* 43, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 26–34 (for earlier mentions of the 1975 finds in that journal, cf. fn. 5 on p. 33); Linos Politis, "Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinai. Rapport préliminaire," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 5–17 and 9 plates.

[2] W. R. Veder, reporting on the Second Summer Colloquium on Old Bulgarian Studies (Sofia, 1980) in *Polata Knigopisnaja* 5 (October 1981): 31–32, reproduced a list of Sinai finds provided by Moshé Altbauer. Among its items are a complete Glagolitic homiliary and a complete Glagolitic psalter, both of undetermined age.

all this, my report is the best that I can proffer under the circumstances.[3]

## I

In 1979 I was allowed to inspect — and to retake — four photographs of non-Greek manuscript fragments that had come to the fore on Sinai in 1975. Among them were two photos, apparently a recto and a verso of a folio, of a text identified as Georgian by those who first worked on the Sinai finds (plates 1 and 2, pp. 123–124). A glance at these photos suffices for any Byzantinist, let alone Slavicist, to realize that what was labeled as Georgian is, in fact, Glagolitic and that the new Glagolitic find belongs to the earliest period of Slavic writing. A conservative guess is that the date of the manuscript is no later than A.D. 1100.

At first, I, too, thought that we were dealing with a recto and verso of one folio, but I soon realized that one of the photos showed two folia. A detail illustration makes this point clear: fig. 1 (p. 125) shows some lines of another folio, lines that are visible through the hole in our verso and are disrupting the sequence in that verso's relevant text. Thus our fragments consist of two or more folia. From my present information I deduce that they contain no less than three and no more than six folia.[4] Thus, as far as I know, at most one-third of the newly-discovered fragments is at present accessible outside of Sinai.

We shall speak briefly about the partly visible folio later; first, however, let us turn to the contents of plates 1 and 2. I shall call them "folio X recto" and "last folio verso," respectively. Folio X recto contains two prayers of the service of the Third and the Sixth Hours, respectively. Last folio verso also contains two prayers, which belong to the service of the *lychnikon,* or the beginning of the Vespers. They are the prayers of the Sixth and of the Seventh Antiphon. These four prayers were recited secretly by the priest during the antiphonic

[3] The Summary Catalogue of Greek manuscripts discovered in 1975 is by Dr. P. Nikolopoulos, Director of the National Library of Greece; the analogous checklist of Slavic manuscripts is in a planning stage (information of December 1981). I have been advised by the Sinai authorities that until such a checklist is ready, they will not provide me with photographs of the new Slavic finds (letter of November 1981).

[4] In the list by Moshé Altbauer (see fn. 2 above), there is an item "f. 4 of the *Euchologium* Sin. Slav 37. . . ." This item seems to refer to our fragments. If Altbauer actually saw them, they would, then, consist of four folia.

psalmody, that is, the alternate chanting of groups of psalms (which were called *antiphona*) or of verses of psalms alternating with refrains (also called *antiphona*), by two choirs.[5] The upper half of folio X recto contains the prayer of the bowing down of the head, recited at the close of the Third Hour ( = Prayer 1). The lower half of folio X recto shows the beginning of the prayer of the First Antiphon of the Sixth Hour ( = Prayer 2). The upper half of the last folio verso contains the end of the prayer of the Sixth Antiphon of the beginning of the Vespers ( = Prayer 3). The lower half of the last folio verso contains the prayer of the Seventh Antiphon of the beginning of the Vespers ( = Prayer 4).

The models of all four of these prayers can be identified. All are Greek. In order to increase the likelihood that I was dealing with genuine models, I chose Greek texts surely earlier than our fragments. They come from the *Barberinianus Graecus* 336, the earliest known Greek *Euchologium,* dating from the eighth century; unfortunately, it is still unpublished.[6] Greek equivalents of some or all of the four prayers of our fragments are also contained in a number of *Euchologia* dating from the tenth to the twelfth century and preserved in Leningrad, Sinai, Patmos, Athens, or Oxford.[7] Incidentally — and this is worth retaining for future use — the *Barberinianus* and the just-mentioned tenth-century Euchologium of Leningrad — that is, manu-

5 Cf. L. Petit, entry "Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque," *Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie,* I, 2 (1924): 2461–88, especially 2477–80, and D. N. Moraites, s.v. Ἀντίφωνον, in Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, vol. 2 (1963): 944–45.

6 I wish to thank Dr. André Jacob, our chief authority on the *Barberinianus,* for kindly sending me transcripts of two relevant prayers (3 and 4) from the manuscript itself. The four prayers of the *Barberinianus* are translated or published in M. Arranz, S.J., "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971): 93, 94 ( = our Prayers 3 and 4); and idem, "Les prières presbytérales des Petites Heures dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 39 (1973): 39, 42 ( = our Prayers 1 and 2).

7 The prayers are relatively common. What follows are random examples from sources not later than the twelfth century. For Leningrad Greek 226, cf. A. Jacob, "L'euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski . . . ," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 173–214, especially p. 189, nos. 96 and 97; and p. 186, nos. 59 and 60; for Sinai Greek 958 (tenth century), cf. the texts printed in A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej xranjaščixsja v Bibliotekax pravoslavnago Vostoka,* II. Εὐχολόγια (Kiev, 1901), pp. 37 and 39; for Patmos, cf. *Patmiacus Gr.* 743 (a. 1180) (at least the two prayers of the *lychnikon*) [*Patmiacus Gr.* 104, which also has those prayers on fols. $3^r$–$3^v$, dates from 1233/4]; for Athens, cf. the texts printed in P. N. Trempelas, Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον, vol. 2 (1955), especially pp. 251–52; for Oxford, cf. *Bodleianus, ms. Auct.* E. 5.13 [ = *Miscellaneus* 78 Coxe], fols. $46^r$–$46^v$ (Vespers; late twelfth century).

scripts relevant as sources of our fragments — are of South Italian provenance.[8] Below, I am offering the text of the four Slavic prayers in Latin transliteration, and juxtaposing them with their Greek models; the English translations are in each case renderings of the Slavic text.

Prayer 1

fol. X, recto, upper half

Prayer "of the bowing down of the head" at the end of the Third Hour

*Barberinianus Gr.* 336, pp. 146–47[10]

1a *NA*$^{\frown š}$ *GJU · POKLO*$^{\frown n}$ *LJU*$^{\frown d}$ *TE*$^{\frown b}$
1b *$\overline{GI}$ PO*$^{\frown p}$ *VTA*$^{\frown i}$ *⁒*
*Prikloni $\overline{gï}$ ủxo tvoě̊ · ủsly*
*ši mo*$^{\frown l}$*tvǫ našjǫ, ï̊ vsę po*
*klonьšęję tebě gla*$^{\frown v}$ *svoję, $\overline{bla}$*
*govi $\overline{sti}$ · sъxrani · v*$^{\frown š}$[9] *⁒. blago*
*dětijǫ i štedrotami edinočę ⁒.*

[ΕΥΧΗ Δ′ ΗΓΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΕΩΣ ΩΡΑΣ Γ′

inc. Ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῇ σῇ εἰκόνι τιμήσας ἡμᾶς etc.;

then Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου "τὰς κεφαλὰς] ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ" ἐκφω⟨νοῦντος⟩, ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς·

"Κλῖνον κύριε τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἐπάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν. καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς εὐλόγησον, φύλαξον, ἁγίασον.

Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩·"χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ."

LET US BOW DOWN OUR ⟨HEADS⟩ UNTO THE LORD. PEOPLE: UNTO THEE, O LORD. PRIEST SEC(RETLY):

O Lord, incline Thy ear, and hear our prayer; and bless, sanctify, and preserve

[8] For *Barberinianus*'s Italo-Greek origin, see, e.g., A. Strittmatter, "The Barberinum S. Marci of Jacques Goar, Barberinianus Graecus 336," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933): 329–67; and H. Follieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Selecti* . . . (1969), no. 10 = pp. 19–20; on the same origin of Leningrad, Greek 226, cf. Jacob, "L'euchologe . . ." (as in fn. 7 above), pp. 175–76. A. F. Cereteli's old opinion that our manuscript is of "Syriac" type should disappear from secondary literature. Cereteli's own plate V, 1–2 easily refutes his hypothesis. Cf. his *Paleografičeskie snimki s nekotoryx grečeskix, latinskix i slavjanskix rukopisej Imp. Publ. Biblioteki* (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 5 and plate V, 1–2.

[9] In line 5, the abbreviation = *vъzglašenie.*

[10] This is Strittmatter, "The Barberinum" (as in fn. 8 above), no. 93, published in Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales" (as in fn. 6 above), p. 39; cf. also Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* (as in fn. 7 above), 37 ( = Prayer 5); Jacob, "L'euchologe" (as in fn. 7 above), no. 96 = fol. 57$^{v}$.

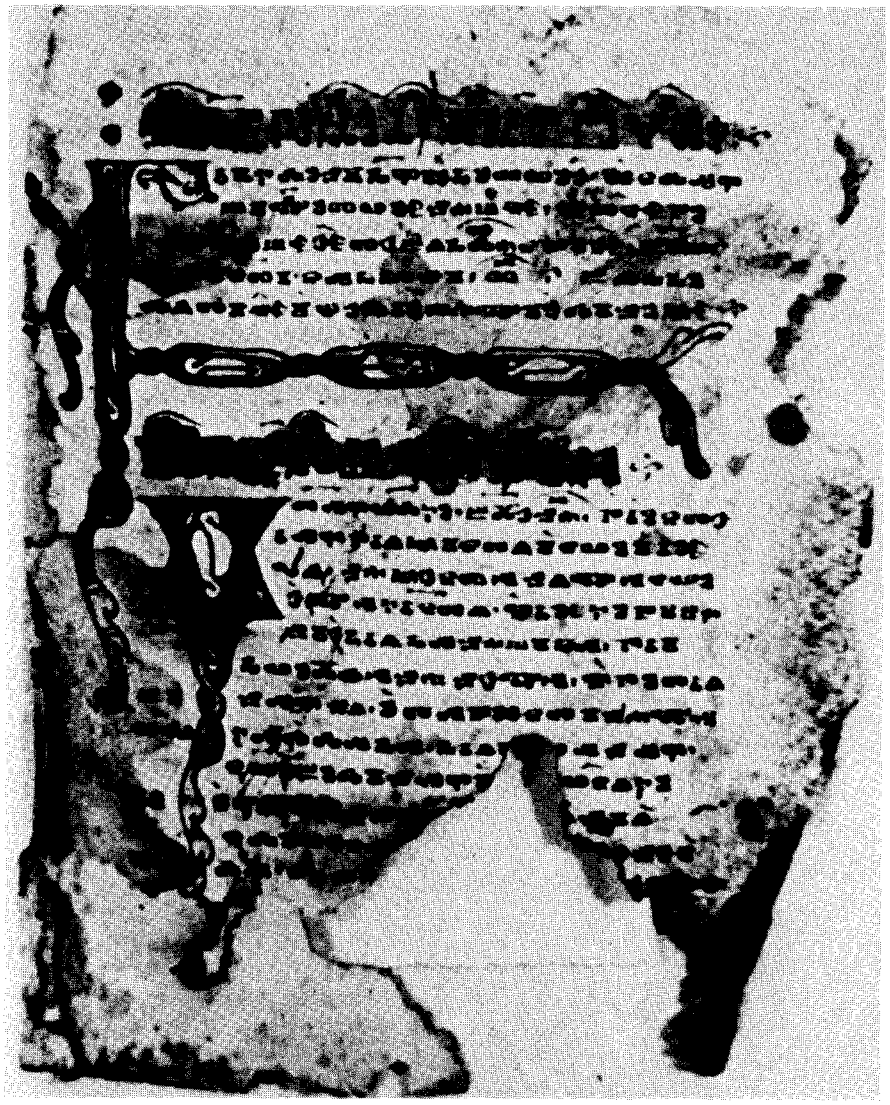


Plate 1: Sinai fragment, folio X recto.



Plate 2: Sinai fragment, last folio verso.

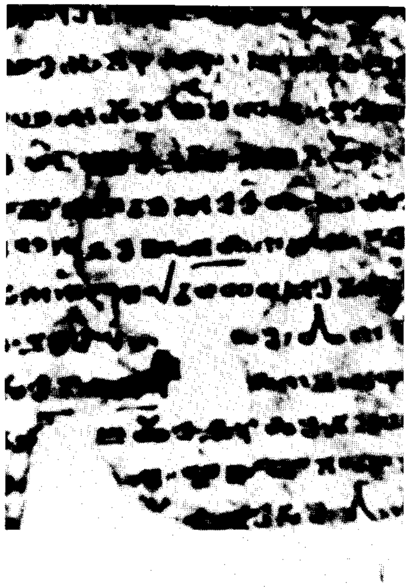


Fig. 1: Sinai fragment, last folio verso and folio (X plus A) verso, detail.

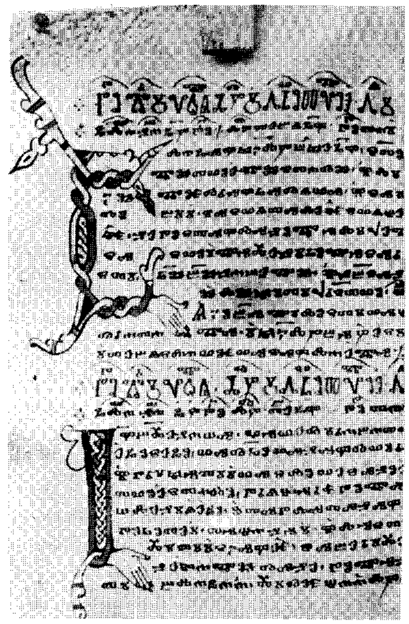


Fig. 2: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 100 b.



Figure 3: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 61 b.



Fig. 4: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 95 b.



Fig. 5: *Cryptoferratensis* B. α. IV, fol. 145ʳ (a. 991).

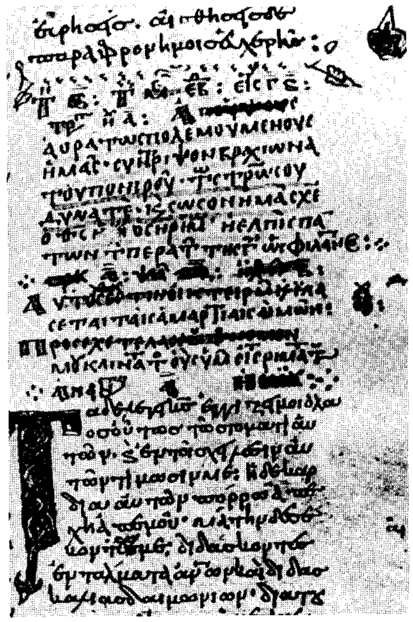


Fig. 6: *Vaticanus Reginensis Gr.* 75, fol. 49ʳ (ca. a. 983).



Fig. 7: *Oxoniensis Bodl. Laud Gr.* 75, fol. 326ᵛ. (a. 976).



Fig. 8: *Vaticanus Gr.* 2138, fol. 35ʳ (a. 991).

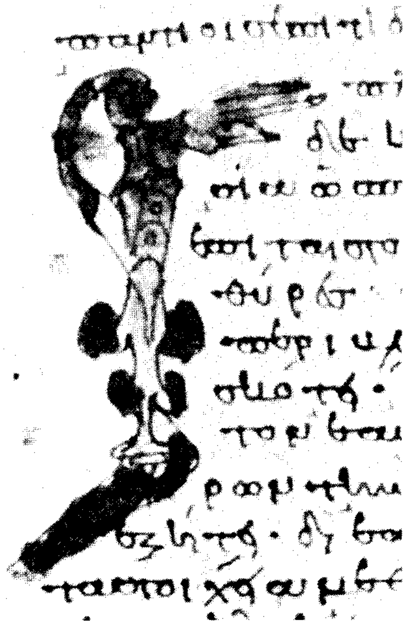


Fig. 9: *Oxoniensis Bodl. Gr.* 204, fol. 17ʳ.



Fig. 10: *Vaticanus Gr.* 2138, fol. 3ᵛ and 26ʳ (a. 991).

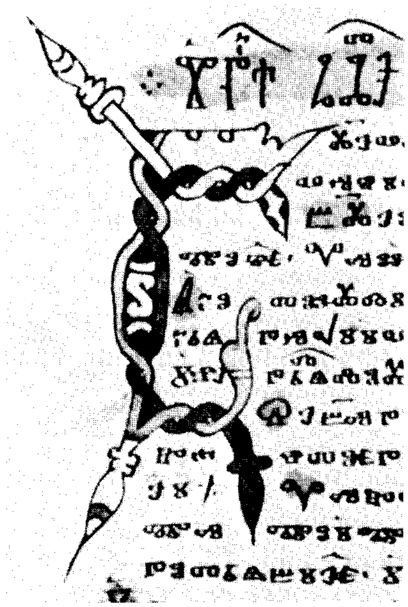


Fig. 11: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 77 b.



Fig. 12: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 81 b.

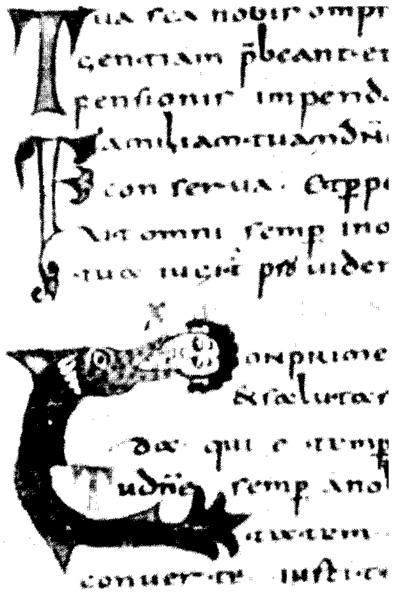


Fig. 13: *Parisinus Lat.* 12.048 (Sacramentary of Gellone, end of the 8th century).



Fig. 14: *Cryptoferratensis* A.α.III, fol. 1ʳ.

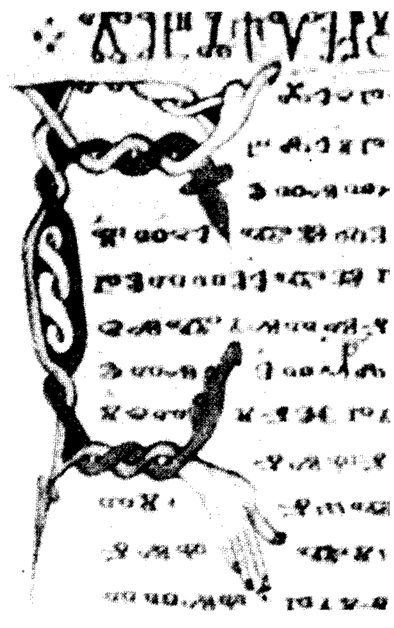


Fig. 15: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 14 b.



Fig. 16: *Atheniensis Bibl. Nat.* 74, fol. 94ʳ.

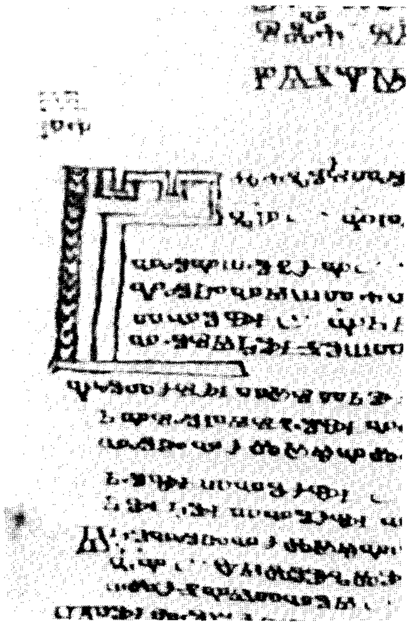


Fig. 17: *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, fol. 121ᵛ.

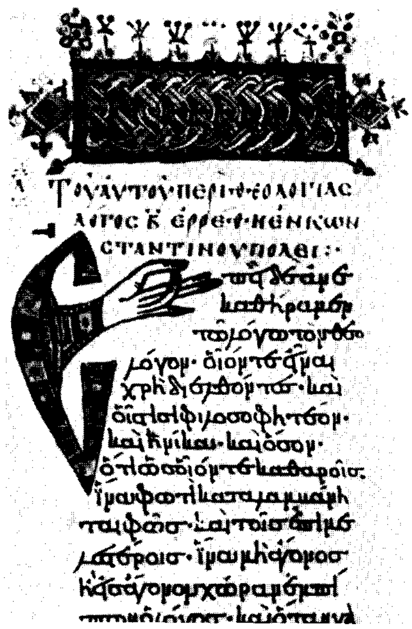


Fig. 18: *Patmiacus Gr.* 33, fol. 99ʳ.

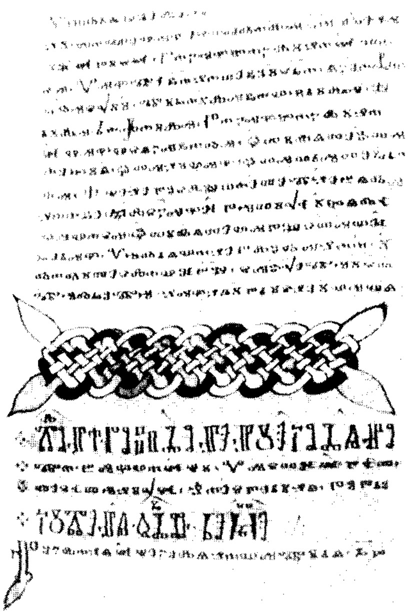


Fig. 19: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 59 b.

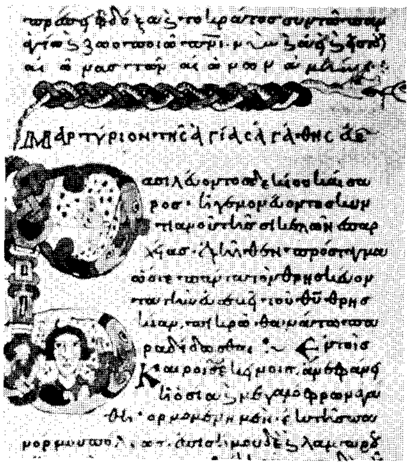


Fig. 20: *Vaticanus Gr.* 866, fol. 404ᵛ.

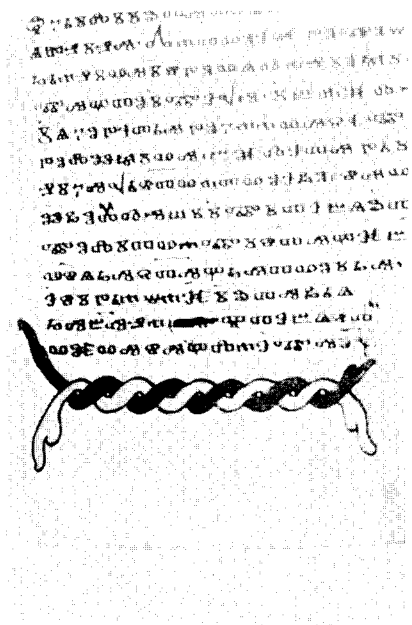


Fig. 21: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 80 a.



Fig. 22: *Vaticanus Gr.* 866, fol. 216[r].

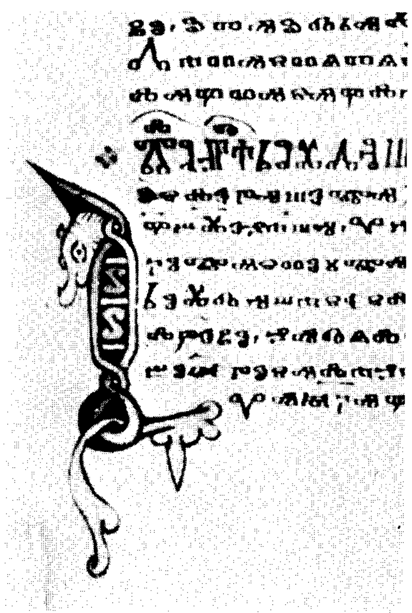


Fig. 23: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 32 b.



Fig. 24: *Vaticanus Gr.* 2138, fol. 29[v] (a. 991).

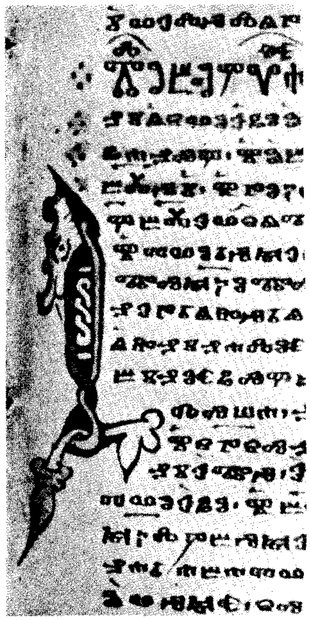


Fig. 25: *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 23 a.



Fig. 26: *Codex Zographensis*, fol. 131ʳ.



Fig. 27: *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, fol. 123ʳ.

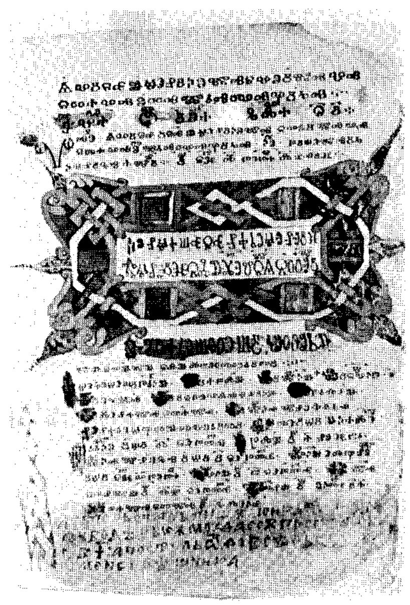


Fig. 28: *Codex Assemanianus*, fol. 157ᵛ.

all those who have bowed down their heads unto Three. Au⟨dibly⟩: Through the Grace and Mercy of ⟨Thine⟩ only bego⟨tten Son with Whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy Holy and Good and Life-giving Ghost, now and ever and unto the ages of ages⟩.

Prayer 2

fol. X, recto, lower half

Beginning of the prayer of the First Antiphon of the Sixth Hour

*MO NA E GONĚ ·*
*ANTḌFONЪ ˙/.*
*Sty vlko · bže na · proste*
*ry prěčistěì svoì rǫ*
*cě na čestьněmь svo*
*èmь krstě · ỉ rǫkopisa*
*nie grěxъ našixъ pri*
*gvoždь na nemь ỉ potrě*
*bi nyně*[11] *· òtъpusti namъ*
*v˘sěkъ dlъgъ grěx⟨o⟩ṿъny ·*
*svobodi ny ồ⟨tъ⟩ v˘sěko*
*go osǫždeniẻ ⟨dě⟩ẹ̌niẻ*
*slovesṿṇ ⟨——i pomyšl⟩ẹnei̇*[12]
*zъlъ · da ḅ⟨———⟩ ẹṃḅ*

*Barberinianus Gr.* 336, p. 148[13]

ΕΥΧΗ ΩΡΑΣ ϛʹ ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΟΥ Αʹ
Ἅγιε δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν ἐν τῷ προσκυνητῷ σου σταυρῷ τὰς ἀχράντους σου χεῖρας ἐκτείνας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν ἐν αὐτῷ προσηλώσας καὶ ἐξαλείψας χειρόγραφον, ἄφες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν πᾶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὄφλημα, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐξ ἔργων καὶ λόγων καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων πονηρῶν κατακρίσεως ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς ἀνάδειξον, ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ [τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι δοξολογίαν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ προσφέρωμεν.]

PRAY⟨ER⟩ AT THE 6 HOUR; ANTIPHON

Holy Lord our God, Thou who didst extend Thy immaculate arms on Thy venerable cross and didst nail to it the handwriting of our sins and blot it out; forgive us now all the debt of our sins; free us from all condemnation ⟨———⟩ evil deeds, words [?] ⟨and⟩ thoughts. So that we

[11] In lines 7/8 I conjecture *potrěb⟨ь⟩, i nyně* — required by ἐξαλείψας (a past participle), καὶ νῦν of the Greek — as the original reading.

[12] In lines 12/13 our text reads *.nei zъlъ*. The Greek model has ἐνθυμήσεων πονηρῶν in this place. The *Slovník Jaz. Staroslověnského* (hereafter *SJS*), *s.v. pomyšlenije,* quotes ἐνθύμησις as one of this word's equivalents. Cf. also *Euchologium Sinaiticum,* ed. Nahtigal (hereafter *ES*; for full title of the edition, cf. fn. 31 below), p. 72 a 16: *pomyšlenьi nepravedně*; ibid., p. 92 a 5: *otъ skvrъnenъ pomyšlenei*; *Freising Fragments,* III, 29: *uzeh nepraudnih del i nepraudnega pomislena.*

[13] This is Strittmatter, "The Barberinum" (as in fn. 8 above), no. 94, published in Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales" (as in fn. 6 above), p. 42; cf. also Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* . . . (as in fn. 7 above), pp. 37 and 1005; Jacob, "L'euchologe" (as in fn. 7 above), no. 97 = fol. 58r.

### Prayer 3

last folio, verso, upper half[14]

Vespers, end of the prayer of the Sixth Antiphon

*Barberinianus Gr.* 336, p. 92[17]

*⟨štedrota⟩*]
*mi*[15] *tvoimi ï miļǫstijǫ tvoé*
*jǫ·ỉ posěti ṇąṣъ tvoejǫ bla*
*godětijǫ · ỉ ḍąžḍị nam otъbě*
*gnǫti i pročee otъ nastojęšta*
*ágo d^ne · ȍtъ bystryxъ ky*
*znei ỉ kovъ nep⟨ri⟩ězninъ·sъ*
*xrani životъ na⟨šъ⟩ blagodě*
*tijǫ staago tvoego dxa ʼ/. v ʼ/.*[16]
*milostijǫ i čkljubịemь edin ʼ/.*

[ΕΥΧΗ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΗ ϛʹ

Κύριε, κύριε, ὁ τῇ ἀχράντῳ σου δυνάμει συνέχων τὰ σύμπαντα, ὁ μακροθυμῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις ἡμῶν καὶ μακρύνων ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν, μνήσθητι τῶν οἰκτιρ] μῶν σου καὶ τοῦ ἐλέους σου, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ ποικίλων μηχανημάτων, καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν διαφύλαξον τῇ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος.

Ἐκφώνησις· Ἐλέει καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

through Thy ⟨Compas⟩sion and Thy Mercy; and visit us through Thy Grace

[14] This prayer occurs in modern *Služebniki*, e.g., that of 1857, p. 2ᵛ, as prayer 5 rather than 6 in the *posledovanie večerni.* For earlier texts, cf. (a) the Novgorod (?) Euchologium of the fourteenth century owned by Metropolitan Ioan Teodorovyč, facsimile edition by P. Kovaliv, *Molytovnyk: Služebnyk, pamjatka XIV stolittja* (New York, 1960), fol. 37ᵛ (as prayer 6; this Euchologium's text goes back to that of our fragments), and (b) the printed *Služebnik* (Moscow, 1602), V̂, 2ᵛ–3ʳ (cf. A. S. Zernova, *Knigi Kirillovskoj pečati izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekax* [Moscow, 1958], p. 20 = no. 18; I used the Bodleian Library copy 4° L, 11, Th. BS (this text, numbered 6, goes back to a reworked, or perhaps new, translation adhering closely to the Greek).

[15] In line 1, *⟨štedrota⟩mi,* a word beginning on the recto of the last folio, is sure on account of οἰκτιρμῶν of the Greek model. In the same line, one could also read *m^lostijǫ* instead of *milostijǫ*.

[16] In line 8, the abbreviation = *vъzglašenie.*

[17] This is Strittmatter, "The Barberinum" (as in fn. 8 above), no. 56, to appear as no. 60 in the forthcoming edition by Jacob; it is published in J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *sive Rituale Graecorum* (1647), p. 36 (2nd ed. of Venice [1730], p. 29), and translated in Arranz, "Les prières sacerdotales" (as in fn. 6 above), p. 93; cf. also Trempelas, Μικρόν (as in fn. 7 above), p. 251; Jacob, "L'euchologe" (as in fn. 7 above), no. 59 = fol. 39ʳ, and modern Greek Euchologia (e.g., ed. Zerbos [Venice, 1869], p. 14), where our prayer appears as no. 5.

and grant that for the rest of this day as well we may escape the wily [?] contrivances and plots of the Enemy. Preserve our lives through the Grace of Thy Holy Ghost, etc. Aud⟨ibly⟩: Through the Mercy and Love of Mankind of Thy onl⟨y-begotten⟩ etc.

### Prayer 4

last folio, verso, lower half[18]

Vespers, prayer of the Seventh Antiphon

*Barberinianus Gr.* 336, pp. 94–95[29]

*MO VEČERЂNIĮ ANЂFO Ž ⁒.*
*Gi bže veliky · čjudno strǫję̀*
*čky vъ životъ neízdreče*
*nъnojǫ b⟨lagost⟩ijǫ*[19] *i boga*
*tymь ⟨promy⟩šleniemь*[20]
*darova⟨vъ nam⟩ъ*[21] *mirъs⟨kaa⟩*[22]
*blagaá ⟨i porǫ⟩čei*[23] *namъ obě*

ΕΥΧΗ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΗ Ζʹ
Ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός, ὁ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ ἀγαθωσύνῃ καὶ πλουσίᾳ προνοίᾳ διοικῶν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωήν, ὁ καὶ τὰ ἐγκόσμια ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ δωρησάμενος καὶ κατεγγυήσας ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην βασι-

[18] A version close to this prayer occurs in modern *Služebniki,* e.g., that of 1857, p. 3ʳ, as prayer 6 rather than 7. For earlier texts, cf. the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv (as in fn. 14 above), fol. 37ᵛ–38ʳ (as prayer 7); *Služebnik* of 1602 (as in fn. 14 above), V̄, 3ʳ–3ᵛ (as prayer 7).

For purposes of comparison, I am transcribing our Prayer 4 after these two sources. As in our Prayer 3, the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, for all its errors, offers a text going back to our fragments, while the text of 1602 reflects a reworked (or new) translation closely following the Greek. This text may represent the redaction of the *Služebnik* attributed to Metropolitan Cyprian. Cf., e.g., N. N. Rozov, "Russkie Služebniki i Trebniki," *Metodičeskie rekommendacii po opisaniju slavjano-russkix rukopisej dlja svodnogo Kataloga rukopisej . . .,* II, 2 (Moscow, 1976), pp. 315–16; 329 and fn. 20.

Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 37ᵛ–38ʳ: *Be velikyi i čjudnyi. strojai člvka neizrečenьnoju svojeju blgostiju. batym promyšlenijemь. | i darovavъ namъ mira sego blgaja i obručivyi namъ obětovanoje crstvo. danymi uže namъ blgymi stvori namъ uklonitisę ot vsękogo zla. mimošedъšaja časti dne sego. dažь namь pročeje bes poroka sxraniti prestuju slavu tvoju. xvalęšče* etc.

Služebnik of 1602, V, 3ʳ–3ᵛ: *mltva antifona z^go^. Bže velikii i divnyi. iže neizrečennoju blgostyneju, i bogaty^m^ | promyslomъ ustrojaę člčskii život iže i mirskaę nam blagaę darovavъ i poručivъ na^m^ obětovannoe crstvo, radi uže darovannyxъ namъ blgъ sotvorivyi nas, i nnešnęgo dne mimošedšuju častь, ot vsękogo uklonitisę zla. darui namъ i ostavšee bez' zaroka soveršiti pred stoju slavoju ti. slaviti* etc.

[19] *SJS* quotes ἀγαθωσύνη as equivalent to *blagostь,* but not to *blagodětь* or *blagodatь.* The Greek prayer has ἀγαθωσύνῃ at the corresponding spot. Cf. *ES,* p. 20 b 11/12: *neizdrečeny* ( = error!) *blagostijǫ.*

*tovanoe cr⟨st⟩vo · danymi*
*juže ⟨namъ b⟩lagy·sъtvo*
10 *riv⟨y [?] ny u⟩kloniti sę*[24] *otъ*
*v^sego ⟨zъla ——⟩*[25] *mimošьdъšjǫ*
*ǫ čęs⟨tь d^ne ——⟩ ego ·*[26] *daždi na*
*mъ ⟨i pročee bes⟩pǫroka*[27] *konьča*
14 *ti ⟨prědъ stojǫ slavojǫ tv⟩ǫejǫ*[28] *xva*

λείαν διὰ τῶν ἤδη κεχαρισμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ ποιήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας τὸ παρελθὸν μέρος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐκκλῖναι κακοῦ, δώρησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἀμέμπτως ἐκτελέσαι ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου, ὑμνεῖν [σε τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν ἡμῶν.

Ἐκφώνησις· Ὅτι ἐλεήμων καί.]

## PRAY(ER), EVENING[?] ANTIPHON 7

O Lord great God, Thou who wondrously managest men in life; Who through

[20] The reading in line 5 is assured by προνοίᾳ of the Greek prayer, usually rendered by *promyšlenije,* and by *bogatymъ promyšleniemъ* in *ES,* p. 20b 12/13.

[21] The reading in line 6 is assured by the Greek (ἡμῖν . . . δωρησάμενος, a past participle) and by *darovavъ namъ* of the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 38r (for text, cf. fn. 18 above).

[22] Reading suggested by *mirskaę* in *Služebnik* of 1602, V̄, 3v (for text, see fn. 18 above) and by *ES,* p. 90a 2/3 *pečalei mirъskyxъ.*

[23] At first sight, ⟨*porǫ*⟩*čei* or ⟨*izdrǫ*⟩*čei* seems too short, for the lacuna here is longer than 4 or 5 letters, but the Greek model of this passage has only καὶ κατεγγυήσας. *SJS* gives ἐγγυᾶσθαι 'give surety', as one of the equivalents of *porǫčiti* and *izdrǫčiti/ati. ES,* p. 83 b 9 has *porǫčьnikъ,* corresponding to ἐγγυητής. The Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 38r has *obručivyi,* Služebnik of 1602, V̄, 3v, *poručivъ* (for texts, cf. fn. 18 above). In sum, I opted for *porǫčei.*

[24] The reading *sъtvorivy* (for ποιήσας) is doubtful. The usual rendering of ποιήσας in *ES* is *sъtvorъ* or *sъtvorei. Ukloniti sę* is sure, since the ἐκκλῖναι of the Greek prayer is regularly rendered by *ukloniti sę.*

[25] *Zъla* is assured on account of the Greek and *ES,* p. 72 b 26 *izbavi mę gi otъ v^sego zъla.* This word alone seems too short to fill the gap; yet, the Greek has only κακοῦ, and the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 38r (for text, see fn. 18 above) has *vsękogo zla. mimošedъšaja časti,* essentially as in our text.

[26] The lacuna after *čęs⟨tь⟩* is difficult to fill. On account of τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας of the Greek, one would expect ⟨*d^ne nyněštьnjaj*⟩*ego* (*SJS* gives ὁ νῦν as a model for *nyněštьnъ,* and the *Služebnik* of 1602 reads *nnešnęgo dne*). The lacuna seems too short for this solution, however. Perhaps our text simply had *d^ne sego,* as the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 38r does (for texts, cf. fn. 18 above).

[27] The reading in line 13 is assured by the Greek model which has καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἀμέμπτως. For *pročee,* cf. our folio (X + A) verso, line 5, and *ES,* p. 83 b 18 *i pročee života moego,* where it stands for ὑπόλοιπον of the Greek. For *bes poroka* = ἀμέμπτως, cf. *SJS* s.v. *porokъ. Bes poroka* occurs in *ES,* p. 98a 22/23. Finally, the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv, fol. 38r has *dažь namъ pročeje bes poroka sxraniti* (for full text, cf. fn. 18 above).

[28] The reading in line 14 is based on the ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου of the Greek prayer and on the two East Slavic parallel witnesses of fn. 18 above. There, the *Služebnik* of 1602 has *pred stoju slavoju ti,* while the *prestuju slavu tvoju* of the Euchologium ed. Kovaliv must be an error for *prědъ stoju slavoju tvojeju.*

[29] This is Strittmatter, "The Barberinum" (as in fn. 8 above), no. 57, to appear as no. 61 in the forthcoming edition by Jacob; it is published by J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον

inexpressible go⟨odn⟩ess and bounteous ⟨pro⟩vidence hast bestowed upon us the good things of the world ⟨and⟩ ⟨pled⟩gest to us the promised Kin⟨gd⟩om through the good things Thou hast given ⟨us⟩ already; Who hast cause⟨d us to a⟩void all ⟨evil——⟩ in the pa⟨rt of———day⟩ that has passed by; grant that we may also complete without blame that which remains of it ⟨in the face of T⟩hy ⟨holy glory⟩; to prai⟨se⟩

## II

How should we assess the Slavic translations? The answer is that, on the whole, the Slavic faithfully follows its original but sounds natural at the same time — thus it displays a trait that is characteristic of the earliest translations. In the prayers of the Sixth Hour and of the Seventh Antiphon, the translations are freer than elsewhere; they do not follow the word order of the Greek, and in spots tend to be paraphrases. That is why I was unwilling to fill in all the gaps in the Slavic text in spite of having its Greek model at my disposal.

Let us single out some discrepancies between original and translation in the prayer of the Sixth Hour ( = Prayer 2). In line 2, the words 'at the present hour' of the Greek are omitted in the Slavic. In line 4, the epithet προσκυνητῷ 'adorable', referring to the cross, is replaced by the more familiar *čestьněmь,* which usually corresponds to τίμιος 'venerable'. In lines 6/7, *prigvoždь* 'having nailed down' is a past participle, rendering the Greek participle προσηλώσας. The parallel *potrěbi* 'blot (or blotted) out', in line 7 is not a participle, however, even though its Greek equivalent ἐξαλείψας is. To restore the correspondence, I conjecture *potrěbь, i* 'having blotted out, and' as the original reading; this fits the Greek well, especially since we need an *i* before *nyně* to correspond to the καὶ νῦν of the Greek. Finally, in line 10 we read the imperative *svobodi* 'free', which is simple but adequate, whereas the Greek has the more ponderous ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς ἀνάδειξον 'proclaim us free'.

Before going any further, let us say a word about the verso of the

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(1647), pp. 36–37 (2nd ed. of Venice [1730], p. 29), and translated in Arranz, "Les prières sacerdotales" (as in fn. 6 above), p. 94; cf. also Trempelas, Μικρόν (as in fn. 7 above), p. 252; Jacob, "L'euchologe" (as in fn. 7 above), no. 60 = fol. 39ᵛ, and modern Greek Euchologia (e.g., ed. Zerbos [Venice 1869], p. 15), where our prayer appears as no. 6.

hardly visible folio, which I shall call "folio (X plus A) verso" (fig. 1). Only a few words on that folio are legible. We realize, however, that the first four visible lines are the end of a prayer, and that the penultimate legible line is the beginning of another prayer. The two capital letters, of which only the *azъ* is surely legible, indicate that a title is standing in between. If folio (X plus A) verso is connected with the last folio of our fragment, it must contain some earlier prayers of the beginning of the Vespers. There are, in fact, some similarities between the visible words of that folio and the Greek texts of the prayers of the Second and Third Antiphon of the Vespers.[30] There is no need to belabor the point, however, because sooner or later some scholar will inspect the whole fragment and put an end to the guessing. In the meantime, I am offering the transliteration of the visible part of folio (X + A) verso ( = Prayers 5 and 6).

Prayers 5 and 6

fol. X + A verso, visible part

Vespers? Parts of Prayers of the Second and Third Antiphons?
(line numbers correspond to the lines of the last folio,
verso of the fragments)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pr. 5 | 4 | *ḍenьna* | 4 of the day [?] |
| | 5 | *pročee d^ṇ⟨e⟩* | 5 rest of the ⟨day⟩ |
| | | *⟨v^se⟩go zъla ḅ* | ⟨all⟩ evil |
| | | *ъ̣ c̅r̅s̅t̅ỵ* | Kingdom |
| | | vacat | |
| | | vacat . *A* vacat | |
| Pr. 6 | 10 | *⟨g̅i̅⟩ b̅ž̅e̅ na⟨šь⟩* | 10 ⟨Lord⟩ our God |
| | | *⟨——⟩ъ·iẓ* | |
| | | *ẹ⟨——⟩ . . .* | |
| | | ⟨——⟩. | |
| | 14 | ⟨——⟩ | |

[30] For Greek texts, cf., e.g., I. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον *sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1730), pp. 28–29 and 163–64; Trempelas, Μικρόν (as in fn. 7 above), pp. 249 and 250.

## III

We now turn to the search for the manuscript to which our fragment once belonged. I need not be a Sherlock Holmes to realize that another Sinai manuscript should be the prime suspect. Almost all available indicators point to the Glagolitic *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (*ES*), one of the oldest Slavic manuscripts in existence, still kept on Sinai.[31] We may start with external indicators. The first is the similarity in general appearance, let alone the similarity of initials (plate 1 and figs. 2 and 3, pp. 123, 125); the second, close similarity in dimensions — the *ES* measures 140 × 105 mm. and our fragment measures 148 × 105 mm.; the third is the fact that the *ES* is mutilated at the beginning, so that there is "room" for putting our fragment into its lost front part — in Greek Euchologia, this first part of the volume is liturgical and includes the very prayers contained in our fragments; the fourth indicator is the fact that other fragments securely or putatively connected with the *ES* have been taken from Sinai in the past — two leaves by Uspenskij in 1853, one by Krylov in the same year, and one by Kondakov in 1881.[32] This shows that some loose leaves of that *Euchologium* were lying around in the nineteenth century, possibly in the very room where the new fragment was found, for that room served as a depository for damaged and disused material until the beginning of our century. Also, the fragments obtained by Uspenskij and possibly those brought by Krylov were from the first, or liturgical, part of the *Euchologium*, the very part into which our fragments would fit quite well.

[31] Recent editions: J. Frček, *Euchologium Sinaiticum I–II*, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 24, 5 (1933, reprint 1974) and 25, 3 (1939, reprint 1976) [Greek parallels, French translation]; R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, in *Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozof.-filol.-hist. Razred, Dela*, 1–2 (Ljubljana, 1941–42) [Facsimile; edition with commentary, bibliography]. Glossary: S. Słoński, *Index verborum do Euchologium Sinaiticum* (Warsaw, 1934). Succinct bibliography in F. Sławski, art. Modlitewnik Synajski, in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* 3, no. 1 (1967): 272–73. Cf. also A. Dostál, "L'eucologe slave du Sinai," *Byzantion* 36 (1966): 41–50; bibliographies in articles by E. Dogramadžieva and P. Penkova in *Slovansko Jazikoslovije, Nahtigalov Zbornik* (1977), pp. 47–66 and 375–87; and R. Mathiesen in the next note.

[32] Cf. Frček, *Euchologium . . . I–II* (as in the preceding fn), pp. 612–17; E. È. Granstrem, *Opisanie russkix i slavjanskix pergamennyx rukopisej . . .* (Leningrad, 1953), p. 78 (on *Glag.* 3, i.e., the Kondakov fragment) and pp. 78–79 (doubts that the Krylov fragment belongs to the *ES*); cf. also R. Mathiesen, "Uspenskij's Bifolium and the Chronology of Some Early Church Slavonic Translations," to appear in the Festschrift for Moshé Altbauer.

Two internal indicators, too, point in the direction of the *ES*. The first of them is the quasi-identity of the hands in both manuscripts; the second, correspondences in morphology,[33] vocabulary,[34] phraseology,[35] and spelling, such as the consistent differentiation between *e* and *je*. Given the great similarities between the two documents, I relied on the *ES* in reading the difficult spots on the fragments' photographs and in my reconstructions of the damaged parts of the text.

Should we, then, view our fragments as belonging to the *ES* and assign them somewhere to the now lost beginning of that manuscript? In all probability, yes. Out of scholarly scruple, however, I will mention three features that must be explained before we definitely incorporate our fragment into the *ES*. The first of these is the apparent difference in the number of lines in both documents. The second is a slight difference in the tracing of the big initials, the big initial for *slovo* being always empty inside in the *ES* (contrast plate 1 with fig. 4, p. 125); and the third, the sequence of prayers in the fragments. The fragments have the Hours prayers first and the Vespers prayers afterwards. This is the exact opposite of the sequence found in all the early Greek Euchologia known to me. Thus, in the *Barberinianus* the two prayers of the Hours on folio X recto of the fragment are numbered 93 and 94, while the two prayers of the Vespers on the last folio verso are numbered 56 and 57. In the catalogue of the Leningrad Euchologium, the respective numbers are 96 and 97 for the Hours and 59 and 60 for the Vespers. Thus what appears to be later in our fragments is earlier in the Greek Euchologia, provided, of course, that we have correctly established the sequence of the folia.[36] If we have, we may venture a

[33] Cf., e.g., *daždi,* Prayers 3, 3 and 4, 12, which is the only imperative form of the second person singular in the *ES*. This feature of *ES* has been singled out by H. G. Lunt, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar,* 6th ed. (The Hague, 1974), 16.22 = p. 122.

[34] Only seven or eight words or signs for numerals of our fragments are not attested in *ES*. They are provided with an asterisk in the *index verborum* at the end of this article.

[35] Cf., in addition to parallels quoted in notes 19, 20, 22, 25, 27 above, *rǫkopisanie grěxъ našixъ,* Prayer 2, 5–6, with *moixъ grěxъ . . . rǫkopisanie ES,* 83 b 17; and *otъ nastojęštaago d᷈ne,* Prayer 3, 4–5 with the same three words in *ES,* 89 b 22.

[36] For sequences in the *Barberinianus* and in the Leningrad Euchologium, cf. fns. 10, 13, 17, 29 above. To obtain the sequence (a) prayers of the Vespers, (b) prayers of the Hours, for our fragments, we would have to refold our two folia the other way (with our first folio recto becoming the last folio recto, and the present last folio verso becoming the first folio verso) and assume that they once formed the inner part of the outermost *bifolium* of a quire, or better yet, of a *quinio* (this to

reason for this discrepancy. The early Greek Euchologia start with the Vespers and proceed to the Hours. The sequence is different in the early Greek Horologia. There, the Hours precede the Vespers, as they do in our fragments. So, while there is a 95 percent likelihood that our fragments belong to the *ES,* we should keep in mind the 5 percent possibility that they may come from some twin manuscript, say a Horologion.

## IV

The conveyance of the Sinai Glagolitic fragments to Europe by Uspenskij and Krylov in the past century did cause a small sensation among Slavicists; later on, controversy ensued as to whether these fragments, by then available to European scholars, did or did not belong together with the faraway *ES.*[37] Today, some forty years after the appearance of the facsimile edition of the entire *ES* by Nahtigal, Slavicists are more blasé, but not blasé enough to forget how exiguous is the body of earliest Slavic non-scriptural texts. Therefore, the new find will be welcomed by friends of Old Church Slavonic literature and Slavic linguistics, both in Bulgaria and elsewhere, as well as by liturgiologists. For the sake of Slavicists I report that our fragments do bring some new information. They offer the word *bystrъ* — strangely enough, attested in only one other Old Church Slavonic "canonical" manuscript, the *Suprasliensis* — with a hitherto unknown meaning of "wily" or "cunning" (Prayer 3, 5); they may provide the positive form of the adverb *čjudno* (Prayer 4, 2), otherwise unattested in the Old Church Slavonic canon; they enable us to add a couple of hitherto unknown Greek equivalents of known Old Church Slavonic words;[38] and they contain some new material illustrating the use of the *jers.*

All these points, however, are minor technicalities. I wish to touch

accommodate some 37 prayers in between our prayer 4 and our prayer 1). Again, all speculation is idle at this point, for inspection on the spot will one day provide the answer.

[37] For the history of the controversy, Frček, *Euchologium . . . I–II* (as in fn. 31), pp. 614–16.

[38] A word of caution on *čjudno*: in view of the masculine θαυμαστός of the model, it may be an error for *čjudnъ* or *čjudne* (voc. sg.). — New equivalents: in addition to *bystrъ* = ποικίλος, we have *neizdrečenъnǫjǫ,* Prayer 4, 3/4 = ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ, and *mirъs⟨kaa⟩,* Prayer 4, 6 = ἐγκόσμια; none of these equivalents is attested in *SJS.*

now upon a broader issue connected with the new find and ask: what were the models used for the make-up and ornament of early Glagolitic manuscripts?

## V

The textual sources of our fragments are all Greek; let us call them eastern. When it comes to the fragments' ornament and general make-up, however, the models that can best be postulated — or, at least, the closest parallels that can be adduced — are western, namely, Italo-Greek. As our fragment and the *ES* are either the same thing or are twins, I shall use both of them as evidence. In the juxtapositions that follow, I made every effort to limit Italo-Greek comparions to well-known manuscripts that are precisely dated between the ninth and the eleventh centuries and are expressly localized in Italy. While I will miss some good parallels because of this limitation, I will be able to avoid arguments as to whether an example I adduced is or is not South Italian. Understandably, as points of comparison, I have chosen features prevalent in Italo-Greek manuscripts but either rare in other Greek manuscripts, especially Constantinopolitan, or altogether absent from them.

In a nutshell, parallels between the two groups of manuscripts extend to, first, the habit of putting a layer of yellow, reddish or green paint over which titles, rubrics, or initials are written — this was done to help the reader find the right place (plate 1 and figs. 5–6, pp. 123, 126). The same function could be performed by drawing a line across a title (fig. 7, p. 126). The second parallel is the use of inordinately large initials; such giants are absent from Constantinopolitan manuscripts (figs. 8–12, pp. 126–127). Like their Latin counterparts (fig. 13, p. 128), these initials sometimes "eat into" the body of texts, rather than stand outside of it (figs. 14–15, p. 128). The Italo-Greek initials are not only large, but also of a shape unusual in Byzantium proper, yet they are paralleled by Glagolitic initials (figs. 16–17, pp. 128–129). Third, the parallels between Italo-Greek and Glagolitic manuscripts include the use of wide interlaced bands or headpieces to separate parts of texts or to surround titles (figs. 18–19, p. 129). Fourth, they include the use of narrow braided bands for separation purposes (figs. 20–21, pp. 129–130). The fifth set of parallels has to do with ornamental features in the initials that are identical in both series of

manuscripts. I shall single out two such features: first, the S-shaped ornaments within initials (figs. 22–23, p. 130), and second, the use of eyes or animal heads with eyes and beaks as parts of the make-up of initials (figs. 3, 24–25, pp. 125, 130–131). The sixth point has to do with similarities in the color scheme between Italo-Greek and Glagolitic manuscripts, especially with the presence of greens in both groups. Unfortunately, the reader must accept this point on faith, because I am not able to reproduce any of the numerous examples of "early Glagolitic" greens — starting with the green of our fragment — in color and compare them with the greens of Italo-Greek manuscripts, such as, to quote an example, the Leningrad Greek 71, copied in Salerno in 1019–20; nor am I able to show combinations of yellow and ochre, non-typical for Byzantium proper, but occurring in such Gospel texts as Athens, National Library 74 (an Italo-Greek witness) and the *Codex Assemanianus,* respectively.[39]

This evidence suggests that Italo-Greek manuscripts offer the closest parallel to the make-up and ornament of at least one early Glagolitic witness, namely, the *ES* (if we consider our fragments as a part of that manuscript), or of two witnesses (if we consider these fragments as a part of a twin manuscript). However, I find my observation applicable to other witnesses as well: to the *Codex Zographensis* (fig. 26, p. 131), to the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (fig. 27, p. 131) and to the *Codex Assemanianus* (fig. 28, p. 131) — in short, to the majority of the earliest Glagolitic manuscripts. In other words, I am suggesting that the habits of the producers of the earliest books written in Old Church Slavonic reflect South Italian influences.

The proposition that an artistic influence emanated from South Italy towards the Balkan Slavs is paralleled by André Grabar's recent hypothesis according to which Italo-Greek illuminated manuscripts of the period influenced one aspect of the practice of illumination in Byzantium itself.[40] Thus my suggestion should appear less startling to

[39] For a color reproduction of Athens, Nat. Lib. 74, fol. 1ᵛ, cf. A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Ch. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece,* vol. 1 (1978), fig. 74; for its initials in color, cf. ibid., figs. 76–79; for its braided headpieces, cf. figs. 82 and 85. For a color facsimile of the *Codex Assemanianus,* cf. now *Asemanevo evangelie, faksimilno izdanie* (Sofia, 1981), e.g., fols. $12^{v}$, $13^{r}$, $13^{v}$, $23^{r}$, $31^{v}$, $44^{r}$, $49^{v}$, $51^{v}$, $55^{r}$.

[40] Cf. A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXᵉ–XIᵉ siècles)* (Paris, 1972), pp. 96–97; Italo-Greek manuscripts transmitted the Western composite initial to Byzantium (but *not* the "Latin" ornaments or the "colossal" initials with which we are dealing here; cf. ibid., pp. 92–93).

an art historian than it might to a Slavic philologist, whose main points of reference for our period are Byzantium, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Moravia, and the Franks. Nor is it, strictly speaking, novel, for in recent years, connections were occasionally established between Italo-Greek and early Slavic illumination and ornament. But these were *obiter dicta,* dealing with individual Greek or Slavic manuscripts, such as the few well chosen words on the *ES* and the Sinai Psalter by Kurt Weitzmann whose broad knowledge of East and West enabled him to put these manuscripts in their proper framework;[41] Guillou's and Tschérémisinoff's well-intentioned attempt based on an inappropriate example;[42] or a stray remark or two drowned among a plethora of

[41] Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973), p. 13.

[42] Cf. A. Guillou and Katia Tchérémisinoff, "Note sur la culture arabe et la culture slave dans le katépanat d'Italie (X^e^–XI^e^ s.)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 88 (1976): 677–92, especially 685–90, repeated with only a few changes in A. Guillou, "La culture slave dans le katépanat d'Italie," *Slavjanskie Kul'tury i Balkany* (Sofia), 1 (1978): 267–74. In both articles, the general cultural background is drawn with a master's pen; and the connection (made in the wake of Weitzmann) between the *ES,* the Sinai Psalter, and South Italy is to be applauded (even if, *pace* p. 690, these manuscripts were hardly *written* in South Italy); however, the main new piece of manuscript evidence adduced by the authors — namely, Athens, National Library 149 (Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, rather than "Psalter") — does not quite belong in our context. True, the text of the manuscript itself, its original rubrics, headpieces and simple initials, are unmistakably by a South Italian scribe of the late tenth or early eleventh century. But all the titles in black ink are either added in spaces left empty by the original scribe, or rewritten over the original rubrics: cf. fols. $56^v$–$57^r$, where the original title of $57^r$, +ΥΠΟΘΕCIC . . . THC ΔEY, still reflected in mirror image on fol. $56^v$, was erased, and a Greek title in black ink by a "Slavicizing" hand substituted for it. This hand is, however, to be dated to the fourteenth century; so are the Slavic titles and texts on scrolls, probably written by the same hand; so are the three miniatures of St. Peter and Paul. The spelling of the Slavic on the scrolls, too, points to the fourteenth century (and perhaps to Serbia); the paschal tables of fol. $159^r$ start with the year 1328; finally, the manuscript itself reached the Athens National Library from Bačkovo in Bulgaria. Thus Athens, National Library 149 is not a witness, along with the two early Glagolitic manuscripts from Sinai, for Slavic scribal and artistic activity and bilingual culture somewhere in South Italy in the first half of the eleventh century; it reflects the activity of some center, situated in the Balkans in the fourteenth century, where a Slavic scribe mastered Greek script reputably well, and where bad miniatures were attempted. I am able to make only one valid statement of use to our topic in connection with the Athens manuscript: this manuscript attests to the movement of books from South Italy to the Balkans sometime between the eleventh and fourteenth century. For a description of the Athens, National Library 149, cf. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue* (as in fn. 39 above), no. 8 = pp. 51–55 and figs. 62–71. Slight doubts that the Slavic miniatures of this manuscript are of the same period as its text were already expressed by Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs* (as in fn. 40 above), 68 (with the assistance of L. Vranoussis).

guesses on *Codex Assemanianus*'s putative connections ranging from Coptic to Mycenaean.[43] What, I submit, is novel in my suggestion is that it points to a link between the bulk of the earliest Old Church Slavonic production and Byzantine Italy.[44]

Studying the make-up and ornament of ninth-to-eleventh century Italo-Greek manuscripts may be of help in narrowing down the date of their Glagolitic counterparts, including our newly discovered fragments from Sinai. Comparison with Italo-Greek manuscripts strengthens the impression that these fragments are not later than the end of

[43] V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and L. Mavrodinova, "Ukrasata na starobъlgarskite glagoličeski rъkopisi," in *Paléographie et diplomatique slaves* [ = Balcanica III, Etudes et documents, 1] (Sofia, 1980), trace (p. 195): ''a few'' examples of ornament in the *ES* go back to Greek manuscripts from South Italy; V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and A. Džurova, *Assemanievoto evangelie. Starobъlgarski glagoličeski pametnik ot X vek* [ = a companion volume to the facsimile edition of the Codex] (Sofia, 1981), reproduce (p. 32) a passage from Weitzmann (as in fn. 41 above), state (pp. 19, 20), on evidence unknown to me, that some textual traits of the *Assemanianus* are paralleled in Greek manuscripts from South Italy, and admit (p. 42) in the *Assemanianus* the existence, "though to a small degree," of elements similar to those of some western manuscripts. Otherwise, the authors range widely in their search for artistic sources of that manuscript. Their preferences go to Bithynia (about whose ninth-century securely dated and localized illuminated manuscripts we know next to nothing), on the strength, I assume, of Cyril and Methodius's stay in the Mt. Olympus region there and on account of the "Bithynian Milieu" cautiously postulated by Kurt Weitzmann in 1935 on the basis of one non-illuminated ornamented manuscript; cf. his *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei . . .* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 39–44 (incidentally, the Bithynian manuscript in question seems to have been written in Kios-Gemlik, rather than in the unknown diocese τῆς βίου; in any case its ornament has nothing to do with either Glagolitic or South Italian ornament); to Cappadocia; to Syria-Palestine; to "Greek-Oriental Provinces," or to late Antiquity in general. Much of it repeats the conceptions, and the terminology, of before 1914. Yet even an untrained eye is struck by the western crown within the initial for V on fol. 74$^{v}$ of the *Assemanianus*. Furthermore, the Cyrillic entry on fol. 146b that mentions the feast of Saint Nicholas under May 20 (a "western" date, conditioned by the translation of the saint's relics to Bari in South Italy) should give food for thought.

[44] Systematic work on ornaments in early Cyrillic manuscripts is still to be done. The examples offered by the old, but excellent plates in V. V. Stasoff ( = Stasov), *Slavjanskij i vostočnyj ornament po rukopisjam drevnjago i novago vremeni* (St. Petersburg, 1887) suggest that the ornament and initials in the early (eleventh-twelfth centuries) Cyrillic manuscripts are close to the "South Italian" ornaments of early Glagolitic ones. Cf. plates I, 3 (Rumjancev Museum 961, fol. 2: braided band; red, green, yellow colors); I, 24 (*Codex Suprasliensis*, Ljubljana part), fols. 8 and 42 (braided bands); II, 1 (Rumjancev Museum 1690, fol. 68: wide interlaced headpiece); II, 2 (ibid., fol. 88: narrow interlaced band); II, 17 (ibid., fol. 55$^{v}$: letter B with eye and beak); III, 1 (Rumjancev Museum 1685, fol. 26$^{v}$: band with the S-motif); III, 2 (ibid., fol. 34: interlaced band); III, 4 (ibid., fol. 5$^{v}$: interlaced band with the S-motif); III, 26 (ibid., fol. 2$^{v}$: three S-motifs in letter B).

the eleventh century; they could be even earlier. I am not able to go beyond this guess in terms of absolute chronology. I do have a tentative idea, however, concerning the relative chronology of the main Glagolitic manuscripts. Again, I derive this chronology from their make-up and ornament, and am suggesting that our fragments, the *ES,* and the *Zographensis* come first, followed by the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and the *Codex Assemanianus,* in that order. Thus, the *Assemanianus* would be the youngest, rather than the oldest, among the early Glagolitic manuscripts. This sequence runs counter to views prevalent in the secondary literature, but coincides with the most recent, and still unpublished, opinions of some Slavic linguists.[45]

There are several ways of interpreting the parallels in ornament between the Italo-Greek and early Glagolitic manuscripts. I give low priority to postulating common sources of influence for the two, because South Italian parallels alone explain matters in a better, and simpler, way than any such postulated sources, be they transalpine (whether insular or Carolingian)[46] or "Oriental" (read Syro-Palestin-

[45] In the standard edition of the *Assemanianus* by J. Vajs and J. Kurz, *Evangeliarium Assemani, Codex Vaticanus Slavicus glag., . . .* vols. 1 and 2 (Prague, 1929 and 1955) our manuscript is dated to the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century; cf. vol. 1, p. VII and vol. 2, p. VII. In the two works quoted in fn. 43 above (and in other recent Bulgarian publications, too numerous to be adduced here), the *Assemanianus* is said to be the earliest Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscript known to scholarship and is dated to the years 950–980, cf. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and Mavrodinova, pp. 190, 193; Ivanova-Mavrodinova and Džurova, pp. 11, 19, 23, 25, 56, 57, 65. The chronological sequence, based on ornament and proposed by the two Mavrodinovas (p. 193), is as follows: 1. The *Assemanianus*; 2. The *Zographensis* and the *Marianus*; 3. The *ES*; 4. The *Psalterium Sinaiticum.*

Professor Horace G. Lunt obtains the first rank among the linguists most recently advocating a late date for the *Assemanianus.* He considers it to be "surely the youngest" of the Old Church Slavonic gospel manuscripts and dates it to the second half of the eleventh century, or even to 1100. Cf. Lunt's three forthcoming studies: "On the Old Church Slavonic Codex Assemanianus," to appear in *Makedonski jazik* (Skopje); "On OCS Gospel Texts," to appear in *Byzantinobulgarica* (Sofia), and "On Dating Old Church Slavonic Gospel Manuscripts," to appear in *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* (Utrecht, 1982). Professor Robert Mathiesen, too, doubts the early date of the *Assemanianus* (communication by letter).

All artistic and linguistic considerations aside, the mid-tenth century date for the *Assemanianus* is unlikely on account of the mention of Theodora of Thessalonica in its *synaxarium* (fol. 152$^v$). As the Greek Theodora died in 892, her inclusion into a Slavic Synaxarium a mere sixty years after her death would be unusual.

[46] Grabar, *Les manuscrits* (as in fn. 40 above), pp. 82–93, has listed Carolingian and insular influences in Italo-Greek manuscripts (influences reaching South Italy either directly, or through the mediation of Northern Europe or, finally, the city of Rome). It is impossible to show, for lack of evidence, direct Carolingian or

ian).[47] A higher priority should be assigned to historical and cultural explanations. The first is offered by channels for contacts between the Balkans and Italy.[48] The second explanation would postulate the existence of a Slavo-Greek milieu in late ninth-century Rome.[49] A third would deal with the missionary activity originating in Italy and spreading to the Balkans in the ninth century,[50] even if in our search for traces of the movement of people and books from South Italy across the Adriatic we should go beyond the earliest period and keep the tenth and eleventh centuries in mind as well.

In pursuing those explanations, we should consider the ornament of Glagolitic manuscripts as a "tracer" for contacts,[51] and should add

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insular influences on the earliest Slavic manuscripts produced, say, in Moravia or the area in which Methodius was active. Such influences would be possible to imagine; but could a tradition of illumination be created in a maximum of twenty years, to live on after direct contacts with the Franks had been interrupted?

[47] Ivanova-Mavrodinova and Džurova, *Assemanievoto* (as in fn. 43 above), p. 42, assert that similarity of ornamental elements in the *Assemanianus* and some western manuscripts, respectively, is due to the "elementary truth" that Syro-Palestinian and Coptic elements played a role in the formation of Western art. Cf. also ibid., p. 61 and p. 62 where — in seeming disregard of geography — common (Syriac and "Egyptian") models are adduced to explain similarities between Italo-Greek and the nearby Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts.

[48] For an excellent, if short, statement on these contacts, cf. the two articles by A. Guillou quoted in fn. 42 above, with good bibliography (including studies by I. Dujčev and Guillou himself); cf. also the bibliography in A. Guillou, "L'Italie byzantine au XI[e] siècle. Etat des questions," in *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale, aggiornamento dell'opera di Emile Bertaux* . . . (Rome, 1978), p. 3ff.

[49] If we could enlarge our meagre body of information on this milieu, we would move a long way towards explaining the familiarity with the ecclesiastical topography of the city of Rome, and with Roman affairs, displayed in the *Vita* of Constantine, Apostle of the Slavs. Whoever wrote the *Vita* knew Rome quite well.

[50] This is more of a stab in the dark than an explanation. On missionary activity from the west, including impulses from Italy, cf. F. Dvorník, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* . . . (New Brunswick, 1970), especially chap. 3, pp. 73–104 and 346–62.

[51] Peculiarities of texts preserved in the earliest Glagolitic manuscripts would be the best "tracers." Here, analysis has not progressed beyond general statements concerning the "western," i.e., Latin elements (read: Vulgate elements and Hebrew ones that had entered the Latin West) in the early Slavic translations of the Lectionary and the Psalter. Again, the term "western" turns scholars' minds either to mixed Byzantine models (thought to have absorbed those Latin and Hebrew elements), or to Moravia, where reworkings by Slavs are said to have been done under Latin influence. Cf. Vajs-Kurz, *Evangeliarium* (as in fn. 45 above), I:XXV, and J. Lépissier, "La traduction vieux-slave du psautier," *Revue des Etudes Slaves* 43 (1964): 59–72, especially 72. I know of only one scholar who connects the text of an early Glagolitic manuscript with Italy: according to Guillou-Tschérémisinoff, "Note" (as in fn. 42 above), p. 690, fn. 6, A. Jacob found that some prayers of the *ES* were "composed with the help of Italo-Greek manuscripts." Unfortunately, Dr. Jacob's findings, "in press" by 1976, are still inaccessible to me.

Byzantine Italy to Byzantium and the Latin West in our list of main areas from where cultural influences entered the Balkans between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Such a vast topic can be only suggested, but not responsibly tackled in a first presentation of a mere two pages of an early Glagolitic manuscript. May this presentation meet with the approval of the Sinai authorities, and help expedite their plans to proceed with the full publication of the new finds, both Glagolitic and Cyrillic, that were made in their monastery.

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Addendum to fn. 40: — J. Leroy,"Notes codicologiques sur le *Vat. gr.* 699," *Cahiers archéologiques* 23 (1974): 73–79, considers (p. 76 and fn. 25) initials containing a twisted cord to be characteristic of Italo-Greek manuscripts (cf., e.g., our fig. 10). Many initials in both the *ES* and other Glagolitic manuscripts are decorated in the same way (cf. our figs. 2 and 26). — For interlaced bands in the Italo-Greek manuscripts, cf. now E. Follieri, "Due codici greci . . . Ottob. gr. 250 e 251," in *Palaeographica Diplomatica et Archivistica, Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli* (Rome, 1979), pp. 159–221, especially figs. I and VI.

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Plates 1 and 2 and fig. 1 — photo Ševčenko; figs. 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25 — R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, in *Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani . . .* , 1–2 (Ljubljana, 1941–42), plates 100 b, 61 b, 95 b, 77 b, 81 b, 14 b, 59 b, 80 a, 32 b, 23 a; fig. 5 — L. Th. Lefort and J. Cochez, *Palaeographisch album* . . . (Louvain, 1943), plate 61; figs. 6, 24 — P. Franchi De'Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum* . . . (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), plates 16, 17; fig. 7 — K. Lake and S. Lake, eds., *Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1934), plate 101; fig. 8 — H. Follieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Selecti* . . . (Vatican, 1969), plate 32; figs. 9, 13, 20, 22 — André Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXᵉ–XIᵉ siècles)* (Paris, 1972), figs. 134, 94, 127, 121; fig. 10 — Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pl. XCII, figs. 584–585; fig. 14 — M. Bonicatti, "Aspetti dell'industria libraria mediobizantina negli 'scriptoria' italogerci e considerazioni su alcuni manoscritti Criptensi miniati," in *Atti del Terzo Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1959), pp. 341–64, plate 3; fig. 16 — Anna Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol. 1: *Manuscripts of New Testament Texts, 10th–12th Century* (Athens, 1978), fig. 78; figs. 17, 27 — Moshé Altbauer, *Psalterium Sinaiticum: An Eleventh-Century Glagolitic Manuscript from St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai* (Skopje, 1971), fol. 121ᵛ, 123ʳ; fig. 18 — Microfilm, Patmos Monastery; fig. 26 — V. Jagić, ed., *Quattuor evangeliorum Codex Glagoliticus olim Zographensis nunc Petropolitanus* (Berlin, 1879), plate 1; fig. 28 — V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and A. Džurova, *Assemanievo evangelie. Starobъlgarski glagoličeski pametnik ot X vek* (Sofia, 1981), fol. 157ᵛ.

## APPENDIX

### Index Verborum to the Sinai Fragments[52]

*A (=*numeral,* 1[?]), 5:9 (*n.e.*)
antifonъ: antьfonъ, 2:1 (ἀντιφώνου); antъfon, 4:1 (*n.e.*)
azъ: *see* my

b⟨———⟩, 5:6
b⟨———⟩emь, 2:13
bez: ⟨bes⟩, 4:13 (ἀ——— )
blago: ⟨b⟩lagy, 4:9 (διὰ . . . ἀγαθῶν)
blagodětь: blagodětiję (χάριτι), 1:5, 3:7; 3:2 (ἀγαθότητι)
blagosloviti: blagovi, 1:4 (εὐλόγησον)
blagostь: b⟨lagost⟩iję, 4:4 (ἀγαθωσύνη)
blagъ: blagaa, 4:7 (ἀγαθά)
bogatъ: bogatymь, 4:4 (πλουσίᾳ)
bogъ: bže (ὁ θεός), 2:2, 4:2; 6:10 (*n.e.*)
*bystrъ: bystryxъ, 3:5 (ποικίλων)

cěsarьstvo: cr⟨st⟩vo, 4:8 (βασιλείαν); crstv⟨——— ⟩, 5:7 (*n.e.*)
čęs⟨tь⟩, 4:12 (μέρος)
čьstьnъ: čestьnemь, 2:4 (προσκυνητῷ)
člověkoljubije: čkljubiemь, 3:9 (φιλανθρωπίᾳ)
člověkъ: čky, 4:3 (ἀνθρώπων)
*čudьno: čjudno[?], 4:2 (θαυμαστός)

da, 2:13 (ἵνα)
darovati: darova⟨vъ⟩, 4:6 (δωρησάμενος)
dati: danymi, 4:8 (κεχαρισμένων); daždi, 3:3 (δός), 4:12 (δώρησαι)
dějanije: ⟨dě⟩ěnię, 2:11 (ἔργων)
dьnь: dˆne, 3:5 (ἡμέρας); dˆn⟨e⟩, 5:5 (*n.e.*)
dьnьnъ: denьna⟨———⟩, 5:4 (*n.e.*)
dlъgъ, 2:9 (ὄφλημα)
duxъ: dxa, 3:8 (πνεύματος)

E (=*numeral,* 6), 2:1 (ϛ´)
e⟨———⟩, 6:12
⟨———⟩ego, 4:12

[52] Words not attested in the *ES* are marked with an asterisk. Greek equivalents following a reference by prayer number and line are valid only for that particular reference, cf. the entry *blagodětь*. Equivalents following a Slavic word are valid for all the subsequent references, or until a new equivalent following a reference by prayer number and line makes its appearance, cf. the entry *našь*. *N.e.* = no equivalent in Greek. Dr. Donald Ostrowski helped to compile this index.

jedinočędъ: edinočę '/., 1:6 (*n.e.*)
jedinosǫštьnъ: edin '/., 3:9 (*n.e.*)

glava: glav, 1:4 (κεφαλάς)
godina: godně, 2:1 (ὥρας)
gospodь: gi, 1:1 (*n.e.*), 1:2 (κύριε), 4:2 (*n.e.*); ⟨gi⟩, 6:10 (*n.e.*); gju, 1:1 (τῶ κυρίῳ)
grěxovьnъ: grěx⟨o⟩vъny, 2:9 (ἁμαρτημάτων)
grěxъ: grěxъ (*gen. plur.*), 2:6 (ἁμαρτιῶν)

xva⟨———⟩, 4:14 (ὑμνεῖν?)

i (καί), 1:3, 1:6, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:2, 3:3, 3:4, 3:9, 4:4; ⟨i⟩, 2:12, 4:7, 4:13; 3:6 (*n.e.*)
iz⟨———⟩, 6:11

konьčati, 4:13 (ἐκτελέσαι)
kovъ: kovъ (*gen. plur.*), 3:6 (*n.e.*? *Cf.* kyznь)
krьstъ: krstě, 2:5 (σταυρῷ)
kyznь: kyznei, 3:5 (kyznei i kovъ: μηχανημάτων)

ljudije: ljud, 1:1 (*n.e.*)

milostь: milostiję, 3:1 (ἐλέους), 3:9 (ἐλέει)
*mimoiti: mimošьdъšjǫǫ, 4:11 (παρελθόν)
mirьskъ: mirъs⟨kaa⟩, 4:6 (ἐγκόσμια)
molitva: mol (εὐχή), 2:1, 4:1; moltvǫ, 1:3 (προσευχῆς)
my: namъ (ἡμῖν), 2:8, 3:3, 4:7, 4:12; ⟨nam⟩ъ, 4:6; ⟨namъ⟩, 4:9; nasъ (ἡμᾶς), 3:2; ny, 2:10; ⟨ny⟩, 4:10

na, 2:1 (*gen.*), 2:4 (ἐν), 2:7 (ἐν)
našь: naš (*acc. plur. fem.*) (ἡμῶν), 1:1; naš (*voc. sg. masc.*), 2:2; na⟨šь⟩, 3:7, 6:10 (*n.e.*); našixъ, 2:6 (ἡμετέρων); našjǫ, 1:3 (ἡμῶν)
nastojati: nastojęštaago, 3:4 (παρούσης)
neizdrečenъ: neizdrečenъnojǫ, 4:3 (ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ)
neprijazninъ: nep⟨ri⟩ězninъ (*gen. plur.*), 3:6 (τοῦ πονηροῦ)
nyně, 2:8 (νῦν)

*obětovati: obětovanoe, 4:7 (ἐπηγγελμένην)
onъ: nemь, 2:7 (αὐτῷ)
osǫždenije: osǫždeniě, 2:11 (κατακρίσεως)
otъ, 3:4 (*gen.*), 3:5 (ἐκ), 4:10 (ἀπό); o⟨tъ⟩, 2:10 (*gen.*)
otъběgnǫti, 3:3 (διαφυγεῖν)
otъpustiti: otъpusti, 2:8 (ἄφες)

pokloniti: poklon (*imp. 1st pers. plur.*), 1:1 (*n.e.*); poklonьšęję, 1:3 (τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας)

pomyšlenije: ⟨pomyšl⟩enei, 2:12 (ἐνθυμήσεων)
popъ: pop, 1:1 (ὁ ἱερεύς)
*porǫčiti: ⟨porǫ⟩čei[?], 4:7 (κατεγγυήσας)
porokъ: bes poroka, 4:13 (ἀμέμπτως)
posětiti: posěti, 3:2 (ἐπίσκεψαι)
potrěbiti: potrěbi (=potrěbь i?), 2:7 (ἐξαλείψας . . . καί)
prěčistъ: prečistěi, 2:3 (τὰς ἀχράντους)
prědъ: ⟨prědъ⟩, 4:14 (ἐνώπιον)
prigvozditi: prigvoždь, 2:6 (προσηλώσας)
prikloniti: prikloni, 1:2 (κλῖνον)
pročijь: pročee, 3:4 (τὸ λοιπόν), 5:5 (*n.e.*); ⟨pročee⟩, 4:13 (τὸ ὑπόλοιπον)
promyšlenije: ⟨promy⟩šleniemь, 4:5 (προνοίᾳ)
prostrěti: prostery, 2:2 (ἐκτείνας)

rǫka: rǫcě, 2:3 (χεῖρας)
rǫkopisanije, 2:5 (χειρόγραφον)

slava: ⟨slavojǫ⟩, 4:14 (δόξης)
slovesьnъ: slovesьn⟨———⟩, 2:12 (λόγων)
strojiti: stroję, 4:2 (διοικῶν)
svętiti: sti (*imp. 2nd pers. sg.*), 1:5 (ἁγίασον)
svętъ: staago, 3:8 (τοῦ ἁγίου); ⟨stojǫ⟩, 4:14 (τῆς ἁγίας); sty, 2:2 (ἅγιε)
svoboditi: svobodi, 2:10 (ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς ἀνάδειξον)
svojь: svoemь, 2:4 (σου); svoi, 2:3 (σου); svoję, 1:4 (ἑαυτῶν)
sъxraniti: sъxrani, 1:5 (φύλαξον); 3:6 (διαφύλαξον)
sъtvoriti: sъtvoriv⟨ъ⟩[?], 4:9 (ὁ ποιήσας)

štedrota: štedrotami, 1:6 (οἰκτιρμοῖς); ⟨štedrota⟩mi, 3:1 (οἰκτιρμῶν)

taina [?]: vtai (*i.e.* vъ tainǫ?), 1:1 (*n.e.*)
ty: tebě, 1:4 (σοι); teb (*dat. sg.*), 1:1 (*n.e.*)
tvojь (σου): tvoe, 1:2; tvoego, 3:8; tvoejǫ, 3:1; ⟨tv⟩oejǫ, 4:14; tvoimi, 3:1; tvoejǫ, 3:2 (τῇ σῇ)

uxo, 1:2 (τὸ οὖς)
ukloniti sę: ⟨u⟩kloniti sę, 4:10 (ἐκκλῖναι)
uslyšati: uslyši, 1:2 (ἐπάκουσον)
*uže: juže, 4:9 (ἤδη)

⟨———⟩ъ, 6:11

večerьnь: večerъnii, 4:1 (ἑσπερινή)
velikъ, 4:2 (μέγας)
vladyka: vlko, 2:2 (δέσποτα)
vьsěkъ: vˆsěkъ, 2:9 (πᾶν); vˆsěkogo, 2:10 (πάσης)

vьsь: v^sę, 1:3 (πάντας); v^sego, 4:11 (παντός); ⟨v^se⟩go, 5:6 (*n.e.*)
vъ, 4:3 (*acc.*?)
vъzglašenije: v̄š'/., 1:5 (ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩?), 3:8 (ἐκφώνησις)

zъlo: zъla, 5:6 (*n.e.*); ⟨zъla⟩, 4:11 (κακοῦ)
zъlъ: zъlъ (*gen. plur. neutr.*), 2:13 (πονηρῶν)

*Ž (=*numeral,* 7), 4:1 (Z)
životъ (τὴν ζωήν), 3:7, 4:3

# An Eleventh-Century Turkic Bilingual (Turko-Slavic) Graffito from the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev

OMELJAN PRITSAK

*Contents*



## I. GRAFFITO 153

Among the 292 medieval and early modern graffiti found in the St. Sophia cathedral in Kiev through 1974, there is one unusual text, graffito 153,[1] which their editor, Serhij Vysoc'kyj, calls "pretty enigmatic" (*dovol'no zagadočnaja nadpis'*).[2]

This graffito was found in the southern outside gallery (first floor), where it was one of several carved on the fresco of St. Onufrius.[3] The inscription was carved in a double-line style, reminiscent of some texts dated from the second half of the eleventh century, such as the "Izbornik Svjatoslava" of 1073 and the "Arxangel'sk Gospel" of 1092.[4] It consists of four lines, of which the first is almost totally illegible, and reads as follows:

1.[5] М[Ц̓ ] . . .ф . . .

[1] The corpus of the graffiti from the St. Sophia in Kiev was published (in Russian) by Serhij Oleksandrovyč Vysoc'kyj in two books: nos. 1–98 in *Drevnerusskie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj XI–XIV vv.* (Kiev, 1966), and nos. 99–292 in *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj (po materialam graffiti XI–XVII vv.)* (Kiev, 1976). A photograph and graphic reproduction of graffito 153 was published in *Sred Nad,* pp. 330–331 (plates LX–LXI), with Vysoc'kyj's commentary on pp. 63–67; the photograph and graphic reproduction appear here on p. 166. For a list of abbreviations, including abbreviated titles, see p. 165.

[2] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 63. Vysoc'kyj laments that it contains several unknown words, such as бяка, вябу, чю; ibid., p. 64.

[3] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 63, and map, p. 132.

[4] See Karskij, *SKP,* pp. 374, 375, 377; also Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 63.

[5] A monogram which Vysoc'kyj tentatively interprets as a substitute for the Cyrillic letter B; *Sred Nad,* p. 64.

2. ТАТЪКЮШЪ ПОПИНЪ БѢЛОВѢЖЪСЪ
3. КЫЙ ∞ [6] БАКАЧУАСИИВАНЪ ЧЮРАБЫБО
4. ЖИЄ АЛЪ ТИ АЛЪТИАЛЪБАБУ ∞

Vysoc'kyj rightly assumes that the sign ∞ divides the inscription into two parts.[7]

For some reason which he does not explain, the editor does not give a reading or translation of the first part. He only discusses the individual words occurring there: ТЯТЪ, or possibly ВТЯТЪ, is a verbal form from ТАТИ 'to cut' ("рубить, сечь, зарубить, рассекать") кюшъ is a personal name; попинъ means "bishop created from the priest"; Бѣловѣжъсъкый means "from the town of Běla Věža. "Thus," writes Vysoc'kyj, "in the first half of the inscription one speaks about the killed *popinъ* (bishop) named Kjuš (?)."[8]

Vysoc'kyj reads, or interprets, the second part of the inscription as бякя чу, а си Иванъ чю рабы божие ялъ, ти ялъ, ти ялъ вябу.[9] He comments on the individual words as follows:

бякя — probably a curseword related to Russian бяка 'bad-boy';[10]
чю and чу — probably the imperative from чоути 'to feel, hear, be conscious, know' ("чувствовать, ощущать, слышать, знать, сознавать");
си — demonstrative pronoun "this" ("этот");
ял (алъ) — occurring three times, this is the past tense from the verb яти 'to take' ("взять, братъ, схватить");
вабу — probably a derivative from вабити "to bait, decay" ("приманивать").

Instead of a translation, Vysoc'kyj gives the following interpretation of the graffito-inscription:

The first half of it [the inscription] possesses all the component elements of a typical epitaph: the abbreviated date of the event and the name of the person

[6] In some Old Rus' manuscripts this sign substitutes for a period. See Karskij, *SKP,* p. 224.
[7] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 64.
[8] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 64. In Kievan Rus' in the eleventh to twelfth century the term *popinъ* (in opposition to *popъ* 'priest') seems to have been used to designate the leading prelates of the non-monastic "white" clergy, from among whom bishops were often selected. See Mixail Dmitrievič Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 324–25.
[9] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 66.
[10] The modern Russian word *bjaka,* however, is from children's language. See Max Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 160.

killed. Kjuš was probably the name of a church dignitary, called [in the epitaph] "popinъ of Beloveža." The second part of the inscription is totally unusual. It is an additional note about some tragic events which resulted in the demise of the "popinъ" and the capture of "God's servants," due to the cunning of "this Ivan," whom the inscriber called "bjaka." The end of the inscription contains a kind of a magic incantation or repentance, in which the phrase "he took" (*взял*) occurs three times. Most likely the author of the inscription is accusing Ivan of an offense against God and St. Onufrius.[11]

## II. A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Bohdan Struminsky, not satisfied with Vysoc'kyj's interpretation, discovered that there is possibly a Turkic "*iẓāfet* II construct" (/ø/ + /sin/)[12] in line 3: бака чуа-си. Communicating this idea to me, he sparked my interest in this graffito. Soon I was able to confirm Dr. Struminsky's suspicion that the inscription contains Turkic elements.

In this short text there appear eight Turkic words and/or sentences. The distribution of the Slavic and Turkic elements is remarkable, for whereas the former convey the religious (Christian) context, the latter make up the gist of the text.

Let us look closely at the Turkic elements.

1–2. татъкюшъ. I explain this as a typical Turkic compound designating the personal name of the *popinъ*. The two elements are татък, and кюшъ. The letter к stands for both the final consonant of татък and the initial consonant of кюшъ. This dual function is attributable to Old Turkic's dislike of geminata (in this case, *кк*).[13]

татък is Turkic *tätük* 'quick-witted, intelligent'. The word (and personal name) is well known from Old Uighur and Middle Turkic texts (Kāšġarī, *Qutadγu Bilig* [= *QB*], *Codex Cumanicus* [*CC*], Chaghatai court literature).[14] It also occurs as the name of a Polovcian

[11] Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 67.
[12] On the Turkic *iẓāfet* II construct ("possessive compound"), see Robert Underhill, *Turkish Grammar* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 93–96; Ludwig Peters, *Grammatik der türkischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1947), pp. 31–35; Kononov, *Grammatika,* pp. 411–13. See also the monograph by Salij Sergeevič Majzel', *Izafet v tureckom jazyke* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1957), especially pp. 30–43.
[13] See Omeljan Pritsak, "Das Alttürkische," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik,* ser. 1, vol. 5, pt. 1, 2nd ed. (Leiden/Cologne, 1982), p. 33.
[14] Two forms of the name existed: *tätük* and *tätüg.* See Räsänen, *EtWb,* p. 476; Clauson, *EtDicTurk,* p. 455; Nadelaev, *DrTjurkSl,* p. 556.

leader in the year 1185: тѣтий *Tětij*.[15] Old Uighur *täḏük* and Chaghatai *täyik* ~ *tätük* suggest that here we have the participial form in /duk/ of the verbal root **tät-*, i.e., **tät-dük* > *tätŭk* > *tätik* (cf., e.g., *CC*, Ottoman *tetik*). The word occurs with personal names, e.g., *CC tetik Salomon* 'the wise Solomon'.[16]

The -ю- in кюшъ indicates that this word is a front syllabic. One can assume that -шъ reflects the final *-č*, following the older (pre-Ottoman) pattern of texts in Arabic script, where the letter ش stands for /č/, a phoneme that does not exist in the Arabic language.[17] On the other hand, the possibility that -шъ reflects the "Kazakh" development (*-č* > *-š*) seems to be very remote.[18] *Küč* (literally "strength") is well attested as a personal name in the Turkic languages, beginning with the Old Turkic and Old Uighur texts, e.g., *Küč Kül, Küč Temür, Qilič Küč*.[19] It also appears in Rus' in 1147 as the first component of a Polovcian clan name.[20]

3. бака. ѧ in бака stands for two front wide vowels: palatal /ä/ and labial /ö/. Hence бака renders Turkic *bökä* (which occurs as an appellative meaning "strong warrior, athlete; big snake") and as a personal name, e.g., Kāšġarī *Bökä Buḏrač*.[21] *Bökä* can also

[15] Тѣтий appears in the Laurentian Chronicle; see *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, ed. E. F. Karskij, *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1927) col. 396. This typical Polovcian (Qipčaq) form, with the development *-üg* > *-ij*, has been recognized by Ananiasz Zajączkowski in his *Związki językowe*, p. 35.

[16] Kaare Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch: Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus* (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 243.

[17] On this usage see Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, New York, 1982), p. 128.

[18] I propose the following hypothesis instead: the Turkic designation for *popinъ* was probably a word beginning with a *k/q*, most likely *qoǯa* (literally, "lord" < Persian), as in the Codex Cumanicus ( = *dominus*); see K. Grønbech, ed., *Codex Cumanicus: Cod. Marc. Lat. DXLIX in Faksimile* (Copenhagen, 1936), fol. 45v, l. 17. In that case, the *čq*– of **küč qoǯa* would automatically result in a *sandhi* development (*-šq-*: *küšqoǯa*), since *č* before *k/q* and *t* is always *š* (see, e.g., Räsänen, *MLTS*, pp. 182–83). This would then extend to *popinъ* — a substitute for *qoǯa*; hence **küš-qoǯa* = *küš-popinъ*.

[19] For examples, see Räsänen, *EtWb*, p. 306; Clauson, *EtDicTurk*, p. 693; and Nadeljaev, *DrTjurkSl*, pp. 322–23.

[20] *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*, ed. Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šaxmatov [ = *PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908)], col. 342; Соудимира Коучебича. The "family name" *Коучебич- is in reality a clan name; ёба represents Polovcian *oba* 'clan; tribe' (see fn. 22), and коуч- stands for *küč*, which is under discussion.

[21] Kāšġarī, *Dīwān luġāt at-Turk*, facsimile ed. by Besim Atalay (Ankara, 1941), p. 545, l. 15. On *bökä*, see Räsänen, *EtWb*, p. 83; Clauson, *EtDicTurk*, p. 324; and Èrvand Vladimirovič Sevortjan, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1978), pp. 211–12.

be detected in the name of a Polovcian clan, mentioned in the Hypatian Chronicle under the year 1180.[22]

4. чуаси. This should be analyzed as *чуa,* with the third-person possessive suffix ("article" /sin/). Remarkably, here /i/ is still front, since in Slavic it is rendered by *u* and not by ы; чуa stands for **čōγa* [čofia]. There was no Slavic sign for the glottal spirant [ɦ], an allophon of the uvular spirant [γ],[23] for which in Slavic the letter г (*g*) was used (see below чага); therefore the consonant remained unrepresented.

The etymon is Turkic *čōγa* 'child', which is probably related to another Turkic word, *čāγa* 'infant'.

*čōγa* is attested in Chaghatay[24] and in the Ottoman dialects:[25] the form *čāγa* is known in the Chaghatai, Turkmen, and all Ottoman dialects.[26] *The Secret History of the Mongols (Mangḥol un niuca tobca'an/Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi,* ca. A.D. 1240), written in Mongolian, has the word in the form *caḥa* 'child'.[27] It was known in Rus' from at least ca. 1200, since it occurs as чага *čaga* in the *Igor' Tale,* but with the specific meaning "girl-slave."[28]

The spelling чуа reflects the original **čōɦa*; Slavic /u/ was selected for the Turkic half-closed /ō/, since Slavic /o/ was half-open. See also *čor* spelled as чюр *čjur* on p. 157. In our graffito the word *čō[ɦ]a-si* appears with the meaning "son of," that is, it replaces the usual word *oγul* (*oγl-i*).[29] This is the only instance of such replacement known to me.

[22] *PSRL,* vol. 2, 2nd ed., col. 623. The name occurs in the accusative: бакобоу. In this form **-оба* is *oba,* the Polovcian designation for "clan, tribe"; see Zajączkowski, *Związki językowe,* pp. 38–40. The first component was *бака, but the final -а dropped because the following word had the initial vowel *o-* (*o-ba*). On this syncope see, e.g., Ottoman *ne üčün* > *ničün* 'why?', and Kirghiz *kara at* > *karat* 'black horse'; see also Räsänen, *MLTS,* p. 56.

[23] On the Turkic glottal spirant [*ɦ*] see, e.g., Kononov, *Grammatika,* pp. 30–31. I prefer not to suspect the northwest (Karachay-Balkar) development (*-oγa* > *-u'a*/*-ua-*) here; see O. Pritsak, "Das Karatschaische und Balkarische," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta,* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 351.

[24] See Lazar' Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' turecko-tatarskix narečij* (St. Petersburg, 1869; reprinted Moscow, 1960), p. 495, s.v. *čwγ', čwγh* 'cub, whelp'; Radloff, *Wb,* vol. 3, col. 2012, id.

[25] *Derleme* 3 (1968): 995.

[26] Räsänen, *EtWb,* pp. 92 and 113 (*s.v. čočuk*), and *Derleme,* 3: 1033.

[27] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi,* ed. Ye Teh-hui (1908), §68.

[28] See Karl Heinrich Menges, *The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of . . . the Igor' Tale* (New York, 1951), p. 64.

[29] On the formula *oγl-i,* see O. Pritsak, "Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica," *UAJb* 31 (1959): 309.

4. чюр. Like the simplification of the geminata *-k* (Tätü-*k*) + *k*-(*Küč*) to *k*, the two *r*'s (čo-*r* +*r*-aby) were streamlined to only one р (*r*).

*Čōr*,[30] also spelled *čōr-in*,[31] is a Turkic title for a military commander. It is known in the original documents from Old Turkic times (e.g., *Kül Čōr, Tadiq Čōr, Tarduš Inanču Čōr*).[32] *Čōr* is found in the work *De administrando imperio* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (ca. 948) as a high Pečeneg title Κουαρτζι τζουρ.[33] The title *čōr* (also *čōrin*) occurs in two Poros'sja Černye Klobuki place-names of 1190.[34] In late Old Rusian the title appears in the "Nikon Chronicle" (under the year 1526); interestingly enough, there, as in our graffito, it is spelled with ю: чюра.[35] Originally the word

[30] As the transcriptions into Tibetan and Khotanese show, the vowel in the word was /ō/; see Sir Harold Bailey, "Turks in Khotanese Texts," *JRAS* 1939, p. 91, and Clauson, *EtDicTurk*, pp. 427–28. The word had a doublet with the suffix *-a*; *čōra*, but the date it emerged is unknown.

[31] Attested in Naršaxī's *Ta'rīx i Buxārā*, ed. Redawī (Teheran, 1317 [1939]), p. 6, قرا جورين *Qara čōrin*, as the title of a member of the Old Turkic dynasty. On the suffix /in/, see O. Pritsak, "Tschuwaschische Pluralsuffixe," in *Studia Altaica: Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 148–49.

[32] See Clauson, *EtDicTurk*, pp. 427–28; Nadelaev, *DrTjurkSl*, p. 157 (s.v. *čur*).

[33] *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik (Budapest, 1949), pp. 166, 168.

[34] According to the Hypatian Chronicle, the two towns, apparently named after their respective military leaders, were situated in the basin of the river Ros' (south of Kiev), where the Kievan rulers had settled military colonists called "Black Hoods" (Černye Klobuki), chosen mainly from among the allied Torki-Turks. One town was Кульдюрево (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., col. 672), which is clearly a Slavic derivation (*-ev-o*/*-ov-o*) from the very well attested Turkic title *Kül čōr*; -дю- (instead of -чю-) indicates that in this case, the sequence *l-č* developed (because of *sandhi*) into *-lǯ-*. On *-evo*/*-ovo* derivations, see Max Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde*, ed. Herbert Bräuer, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1971), pp. 353–54. The second town was named Чюрнаевъ (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., col. 669); apart from the Slavic suffix (*-ev-ъ*; see above), the Turkic elements are the stem *čōrin* (a variant of *čōr*, discussed above) and the "vocative" element /a/ ~ /aj/; see Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 154, 343, and M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1957), p. 56. Due to "Mittelsilbenschwund" (see v. Gabain, ibid., pp. 43–44, 47), **čōrïnaj* developed into *čōrnaj*.

On the localization of these two towns, see Barsov, *MIGSR*, pp. 215 and 12. The existence and usage of the title *čōr* ~ *čōrin* among the Černye klobuki is of importance to the interpretation of our Kievan bilingua, where the title *čōr* also appears.

[35] *PSRL*, vol. 13, ed. Sergej Fedorovič Platonov (St. Petersburg, 1904; reprinted Moscow, 1965), p. 45 and passim.

probably corresponded to the usage in Kirgiz epic, where *čoro* (< *čōra*) means "member of the prince's retinue."[36]

5. АЛЪТИ. Here, as in the case of the first syllable vowel in the word БАКА, the letter А stands for /ö/. The word is Turkic *ölti* 'he died', from *öl-* 'to die'.[37] Interestingly enough, the *-d* at the beginning of the suffix of the definite past tense /-di/ follows the development known from Old Turkic inscriptions; where */d-/* before *r, l, n* became /t/.[38] The repetition of *ölti* is understandable: since the graffito names two persons (one in each part), it repeats the formula "he died."

6. АЛЪБА. The occurrence of this word in the graffito is of special interest for Turkology. The only correspondent form known to me is Wilhelm Radloff's notation Teleut *älbi,* from the northeastern territories of the Turkic world. According to Radloff, the word means "die Kraft, die einem Heilmittel, einem Gebete innewohnt."[39] But the word and its meaning have better documentation in Mongolian. The *Secret History of the Mongols* contains the word *elbesün* (*/sün/* is the suffix of *nomen unitatis*), which in Chinese is translated as 祈禱 *ch'i-tao* 'prayer'.[40] From the stem **elbe-n-,* the verb *elberi-* 'to respect or honor parents or elders'[41] was constructed in Mongolian (it also occurs in Modern Mongolian); and from the latter came the noun *elberil* 'veneration, respect, filial piety' (in Chinese *hsiao*).[42] On this basis, it is possible to establish the Old and Middle Turkic word **älbä,* with the meaning "(filial) respectful, memorial."

7. бу. This is the common Turkic demonstrative pronoun for "this," used as a copula, especially in commemorative inscriptions, e.g., Old Volga Tatar *ziyäräti bu* 'this is the memorial stone'.[43]

36 Konstjantin Kuz'mič Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1965), p. 868.

37 On *-öl-,* see, e.g., Clauson, *EtDicTurk,* pp. 125–26.

38 See O. Pritsak, "Die Herkunft der Allophone und Allomorphe im Türkischen," *UAJb* 33, nos. 1–2 (1961): 142–45.

39 Radloff, *Wb,* vol. 1, col. 832.

40 *Yüan ch'ao pi-shi,* ed. Ye Teh-hui, §174.

41 The original Mongolian form was probably a deverbal noun in /-n/: **elbe-n* (see Teréz Mária Szabó, *A kalmük szóképzés* [Budapest, 1943], p. 45, §110), since the verb *elberi-* was a deverbal formation in /-ri/ (see ibid., p. 30, §54). The suffixes /-n, -d, -r/ were disappearing before the suffix of the *nomen unitatis* in /-sun/; see O. Pritsak, "Mongolisch *yisün* 'neun' und *yiren* 'neunzig'," *UAJb* 26, nos. 3–4 (1954): 243–45.

42 See Ferdinand Lessing, ed., *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p. 307r.

43 See O. Pritsak, "Bulgaro-Tschuwaschica," *UAJb* 31 (1959): 309.

## III. THE GRAFFITO'S TURKIC ELEMENTS

Now it is possible to establish the text and the translation of the Kievan bilingual inscription (the Turkic words and phrases are italicized in the original):

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tätŭk* [*K*]*üč* popinъ bělověz"s"kyj, | Tätŭk Küč, the senior priest (*popinъ*) of Běla Věža, [and] |
| *Bökä Čō[fi]asi* Ivan *Čor,* | Bökä's son Ivan Čōr, |
| [ra]by božije, | the humble men (literally "God's servants" = ϑεοῦ δοῦλοι), |
| *ölti, ölti.* | died [and] died [that is, both died]. |
| *älbä bu.* | This [is their] respectful memorial. |

At this point let us appraise the graffito from the standpoint of Turkology.

### *A. Graphic Considerations*

1. The Slavic Cyrillic alphabet was not well suited for the rendering of Turkic vocalism, hence in some cases one Slavic letter stands for two Turkic phonemes. The correspondences are as follows:

(a) ᴀ = *ä*: ᴀлъбᴀ *ä̱lbä̱*, тᴀтък *tä̱tŭk*, бᴀкᴀ *bökä̱*;
ᴀ = *ö*: ᴀлъти; *ö̱lti*, бᴀкᴀ *bö̱kä*;[44]
(b) у = *u*: бу *bu̱*;
у(ю) = *ō*: чуа *čō̱[fi]a*, чюр *čō̱r*;
(c) ъ = *ŭ*: тᴀтък *tätŭ̱k*; cf. Търк- – < *Türk* (търкы, *PSRL*, vol. 1, col. 204);
ъ = marker of the syllabic juncture: ᴀлъ̱бᴀ *äl-bä*, ᴀлъ̱ти *öl-ti*;
(d) ю = *ü*: кюшъ *kü̱č*;
= *o* (after *č*):[45] чюр *čō̱r*.

The remaining cases contain no surprises:
A = *a*: чуа *čō[fi]a̱*
и = *i*: ᴀлъти *ölti̱*, чуаси *čō[fi]asi̱*; as noted above, the language of the graffito still has only one *i*; the palatal opposition (*front: back*) in high unrounded vowels has not yet occurred.

[44] I do not see any reason to assume here the later Karaim Halyč development: *ä, ö* > *ä*. On this, see O. Pritsak, "Das Karaimische," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1959), p. 327.
[45] The consonantic phoneme /č/ was palatal in Old Slavic; see Nikolaus S. Trubetzkoy, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* (Vienna, 1954), p. 78.

2. In consonantism four cases should be singled out:

(a) the rendering of the final *-č* in the "Arabic" fashion, by means of -шъ: кюшъ *küč*;

(b) the marking of the morphonic boundary by the "hard" sign (ъ): алъба *äl-bä,* алъти *öl-ti*;[46]

(c) absence of the glottal spirant [ɦ]: чуаси *čō[ɦ]asi*;

(d) avoidance of geminata, in the Old Turkic fashion: татъкюшъ for *Tätük Küč*; чюрабы for *čōr*+рабы.

## *B. Phonology*

1. General Characteristics:

(a) Attested vocalism:

| First (stem) syllable | Non-initial syllable |
|---|---|
| *ü u* | *i ü* |
| *ö o* | |
| *ä* | *ä a* |

(b) Attested consonantism:

| Single consonants | Clusters |
|---|---|
| *k t č s* | |
| *b* | |
| *r l* | *lb lt* |
| ɦ *(glottal spirant)* | |

2. Initials

| (a) Vowels | (b) Consonants |
|---|---|
| *ä*: алъба *älbä* | *b:* бака *bökä,* бу *bu*; |
| *ö:* алъти *ölti* | *k*: кюшъ *küč*; |
| | *t*: татък *tätük*; |
| | *č*: чуа *čō[ɦ]a,* чюр *čōr.* |

3. Medials:

| (a) Vowels | (b) Single Consonants |
|---|---|
| *ä*: татък *tätük* | *k*: бака *bökä*; |
| *ō*: чуа *čō[ɦ]a,* чюр *čōr* | *t*: татък *tätük*; |
| *ö*: бака *bökä* | [ɦ]: чуа *čō[ɦ]a* |
| *u*: бу *bu*; | (c) Consonant Clusters |
| *ü*: кюшъ *küč*; | *lb*: алъба *älbä*; |
| | *lt*: алъти *ölti.* |

[46] On the structure of the Old Turkic syllabic system, see O. Pritsak, "Turkology and the Comparative Study of Altaic Languages: The System of the Old Turkic Runic Script," *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.), 4 (1980): 84–87.

4. Finals (Stem):

(a) Vowels

*a*: чуа *čō[fi]a̱*;

*ä*: ѧлъбѧ *älbä̱*; бѧкѧ *bökä̱*;

(b) Consonants

*k*: тѧтък *tätŭk̲*:

*č*: кюшъ *küč̲*

*l*: ѧлъ *öl̲-*:

*r*: чюр *čōr̲*.

### *C. Morphology*

(a) Attested suffixes

1. Possessive of the 3rd person /sin/: чуаси *čō[fi]a-s̱i̱*;
2. Definite past 3rd person /di/: ѧлъти *öl-t̲i̲*.

(b) demonstrative pronoun: бу *bu*; functions as a *copula*.

### *D. Hapaxes*

1. The formula *čo[fi]a-si* substitutes for the usual one *oγl-i* 'the son of';
2. Lexical: *älbä* with the meaning "(filial) respectful, memorial."

### *E. Conclusion*

Although the Turkic linguistic material of the Kievan bilingua is rather limited — 6 nouns (*älbä, bökä čō[fi]a, čōr, küč, tätŭk*), one pronoun (*bu*), one verbal root (*öl-*), one possessive suffix *-si,* and one verbal form *-ti* (*öl-t̲i̲*) — one nevertheless has good reason to define that language as the *lingua franca* of the Torki ( = Търкы *Türk*) Černye Klobuki (Black Hoods) in the eleventh to twelfth century. That language definitely had a southwestern (Turkmen, Oghuz) character. Not only are all the nouns preserved best in the living Oghuz languages, but also they occur in a very similar, if often somewhat older, phonetic form (*k-, t-*; *-k-, -t-*). On the other hand, at least three isoglosses connect the language of the graffito with Old Turkic: (a) the existence of only one vocalic phoneme /i/;[47] (b) the vocalic sequence *ä - ü* in *tätŭk*; (c) the treatment of the initial *d-* in the suffix /di/after /l/: **l-d > lt.*

Under no circumstances can this language be connected with the

[47] The scribe of the graffito does not make use of the Slavic sign ы, but writes the vowel as и in чуаси.

Polovcian (Qipčaq) language, as the difference in the forms for the word "quick-witted" clearly demonstrates: Kievan graffito: татък *tätük* and Polovcian from Rus' (1185): тѣтий *tĕtij*.

## IV. THE GRAFFITO'S DATE AND PROVENANCE

The illegible first line of the graffito apparently gave the date of the inscription. Vysoc'kyj suggests that the initial word was M[ца] 'in the month of', and that the next word was the name of the given month, which could have been either June (*июня) or July (*июля) in terms of the space available.[48]

Since the next recognizable letter is ф, which in numbers stood for "500," one can speculate that reference was being made to the sixth hundred of the sixth millenium *Anno mundi,* which began on 1 September A.D. 999 and ended on 31 August A.D. 1092. Since the Cathedral of St. Sophia was probably constructed between 1037 and 1046,[49] the date of the graffito can be narrowed to between 1046 and 1092, most likely near the end of that time, that is, the 1080s or 1090s. Hence it would appear that Vysoc'kyj's generalized date of the "12th century"[50] should be antedated by a few decades. Contrary to the speculations of Vysoc'kyj, the graffito does not elaborate on the circumstances in which Tätük Küč, and Ivan Čōr died; it gives no indication whether foul play was involved or whether they died at the same time.

Two towns with the name Bĕla Vĕža were known in the Old Rus' sources.[51] The first, the commercial center of Khazaria, Sarkel on the Don River, was destroyed by Svjatoslav in 965.[52] The second,

48 Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 64.

49 See A. Poppe, "Zasnuvannja Sofiji Kyjivs'koji," *UIŽ,* 1965, no. 9, pp. 97–104; idem, *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 50–68, and S. Vysoc'kyj's rebuttal, *Sred Nad,* pp. 240–57.

50 Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* p. 38.

51 I do not see sufficient reason to assume that there was a third Bĕla Vĕža in the Perejaslav principality, as many scholars suggest, following Nikolaj Barsov. See Barsov, *MIGSR,* p. 18; idem, *Očerki russkoj istoričeskoj geografii* (Warsaw, 1873), p. 142; Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Lviv, 1905), pp. 320, 348; Arsenij Nikolaevič Nasonov, *"Russkaja zemlja" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1951), p. 221; Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad,* pp. 65–66. The recent topographical study of the Perejaslav principality by M. P. Kučera, "Perejaslavskoe knjažestvo," in L. G. Beskrovnyj, ed., *Drevnerusskie knjažestva X–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 118–43, makes no mention of a Bĕla Vĕža in Perejaslav.

52 *Povest' vremennyx let,* ed. Dmitrij Sergeevič Lixačev, vol. 1 (Moscow and

which in some sources was also called "Staraja" Běla Věža, was located on the southern frontier of the Černihiv principality, close to the source of the Oster River.[53] Volodimer Monomax mentioned it in his "Memoirs" (*Poučen'e*) in connection with the events of 1085.[54] It is reasonable to assume that Tätük Küč was a senior priest (*popinъ*) in the Běla Věža of Černihiv. Like Osters'kyj gorodok (to which it was connected by the Oster River), Běla Věža must have been a stronghold of the Vsevolod dynasty in the south. In 1149 Jurij Dolgorukij stayed there for an entire month, waiting for support from the Polovcians, before he attacked Perejaslav.[55] Tätük Küč and Bökä's son Ivan Čōr apparently belonged to the upper strata of the Černye Klobuki, the Turkic mercenaries who served the Kieven princes and even became Christian.[56] If our chronological hypotheses are correct, their suzerain was Vsevolod Jaroslavič, father of Monomax, who between 1078 and 1093[57] alone ruled all of Rus', especially the lands of Kiev, Černihiv, and Perejaslav. This would readily explain the inclusion of the senior priest from the Běla Věža of Černihiv in a graffito on the walls of Kiev's St. Sophia cathedral.

The inscription was carved by a professional scribe as an expression of filial piety (Turkic *älbä* = Chin. *hsiao*). One can speculate, therefore, that the senior priest Tätük Küč and the high military commander (*čōr*) Ivan were brothers. Apparently they were killed at the same time and Ivan's son (the only possibility, since the senior priest could not have been married) had the inscription carved to

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Leningrad, 1950), p. 47. On Sarkel, see Svetlana Aleksandrovna Pletneva, *Xazary* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 48–70.

53 See *Kniga bol'šomu čertežu* [ca. 1627], ed. K. N. Serbina (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 103, 107–109; A. K. Zajcev, "Černigovskoe knjažestvo," in *Drevnerusskie knjažestva X–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 80, 124, and map facing p. 80.

54 *PVL,* ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1 (1950), p. 160.

55 See Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 2: 157–72.

56 On Černye Klobuki, see Petr Golubovskij, "Ob uzax i torkax," *ŽMNP* (St. Petersburg), July 1884, pp. 1–21; Dmitrij A. Rasovskij, "O roli Černyx klobukov v istorii Drevnej Rusi," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum,* vol. 1 (Prague, 1927), pp. 93–109; D. Rasovskij, "Rus', Černye klobuki, i Polovcy v XII v.," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto Istoričesko Družestvo* (Sofia), 16–18 (1940): 369–78; S. A. Pletneva, "Kočevniki vostočnoevropejskix stepej v X–XII vv.," in *Stepi Evrazii v èpoxu srednevekovija* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 213–23.

57 This dating is also suggested by paleography, as being "ca. 1073–1092"; see above, p. 152.

commemorate them. Possibly he had become a priest like his uncle and was associated with the clergy of St. Sophia, hence his access to that church and/or opportunity to have the inscription carved there professionally.

As was noted above, Volodimer Monomax mentioned Běla Věža in connection with the year 1085. He described one memorable encounter thus: "On the following morning, which was the Lord's Day [Sunday], we marched [from the banks of the Sula River] toward Běla Věža. With the help of God and of the Holy Virgin, we killed nine hundred Polovcians and captured two princes, Asin' and Sakz', the brothers of Bagubars, and only two men [of their force] escaped."[58] We can reasonably assume that during such an important battle some of the Rus' warriors were killed. If Černye Klobuki were among the warriors, two of their leaders might well have been killed. The death of a *čōr* and *popinъ* from the Černye Klobuki would surely have been worthy of immortalization in Kiev's St. Sophia cathedral. The genealogy of the relevant Černye Klobuki clan was, hypothetically:

Bökä

Tätŭk Küč, *popinъ*<br>d. ca. 1085

Ivan, *čōr*<br>d. ca. 1085

N.n<br>(the person who carved, or commissioned, graffito no. 153).

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Graffito no. 153 found in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev has significance for the history of Eastern Europe, for it is the only known inscription to honor the Černye Klobuki of princely Rus'. Its importance for philology and cultural history lies in its unique bilingual, Turkic-Slavic, character.

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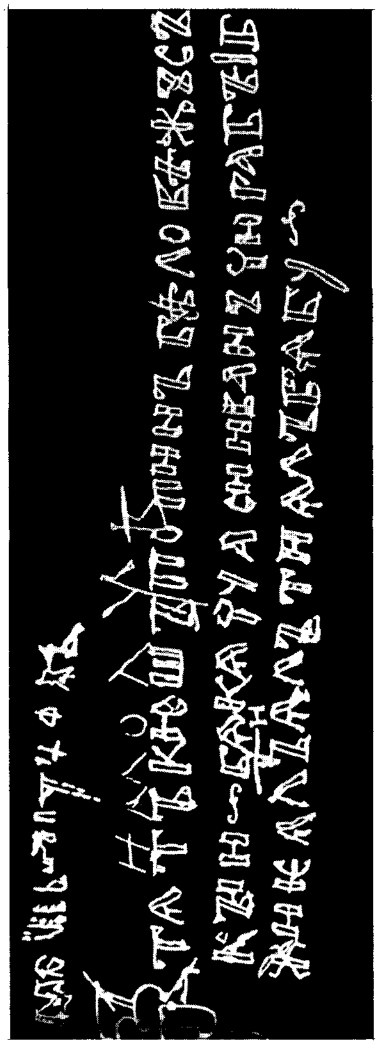
[58] *PVL,* ed. Lixačev, 1: 160.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Barsov, *MIGSR* | = Barsov, Nikolaj. *Materialy dlja istoriko-geografičeskogo slovarja Rossii.* Vilnius, 1865. |
| *CC* | = *Codex Cumanicus* |
| Clauson, *EtDicTurk* | = Clauson, Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish.* Oxford, 1969. |
| *Derleme* | = *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü.* New series. Ankara. |
| *JRAS* | = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London. |
| Karskij, *SKP* | = Karskij, Evfimij Fedorovič. *Slavjanskaja kirillovskaja paleografija.* Leningrad, 1928. |
| Kononov, *Grammatika* | = Kononov, Andrej Nikolaevič. *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka.* Moscow and Leningrad, 1956. |
| Nadeljaev, *DrTjurkSl* | = Nadeljaev, V. N., et al., eds. *Drevnetjurskij slovar'.* Leningrad, 1969. |
| *PSRL* | = *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* |
| *PVL* | = *Pověst vremennyx lět* |
| *QB* | = *Qutadγu bilig* |
| Radloff, *Wb* | = Radloff, Wilhelm. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte.* 2nd ed., by O. Pritsak. 4 vols. The Hague, 1960. |
| Räsänen, *EtWb* | = Räsänen, Martti. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen.* Helsinki, 1969. |
| Räsänen, *MLTS* | = Räsänen, Martti. *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen.* Helsinki, 1949. |
| *UIŽ* | = *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal.* Kiev. |
| *UAJb* | = *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.* Wiesbaden. |
| Vysoc'kyj, *Sred Nad* | = Vysoc'kyj, S. O. *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj.* Kiev, 1976. |
| Zajączkowki, *Związki językowe* | = Zajączkowski, Ananiasz. *Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie.* Wrocław, 1949. |
| *ŽMNP* | = *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija.* St. Petersburg. |



Photo of Graffito 153



Drawing of Graffito 153

Source: S. O. Vysoc'kyj, *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj* (Kiev, 1976).

The Kievan Bilingual Graffito

# Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641

FRANK E. SYSYN

The Union of Lublin of 1569, which formed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, constituted the most significant instance of a union of states through a union of nobilities in early modern Europe.[1] From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the nobles of that vast state became increasingly homogeneous in language, culture, and religion. Thus, they became Polish nobles not only in the political sense, as citizens of the Commonwealth, but also in cultural determinants. The Constitution of the 3rd of May 1791, which abolished the state's bipartite federal structure, was only in part a reflection of the political thinking of the Enlightenment: it also represented the advanced degree of the homogenization of the Commonwealth's noble citizenry.

The assimilation of nobles throughout the Commonwealth to Polish culture, the spread of Roman Catholicism, and the acceptance of Polish identity did not occur without friction and opposition. Linguistic and cultural assimilation proceeded with relatively minor resistance.[2] Religion constituted a more effective barrier against homogeneity, and the Counter-Reformation only gradually triumphed in the indigenous Polish territories and later in the Orthodox Ruthenian lands, partly in the form of the Uniate church.[3] The primary opposition to homogeni-

[1] On the Polish-Lithuanian union as a union of nobiliary states, see Gotthold Rhode, "Staaten-Union und Adelsstaat: Zur Entwicklung von Staatsdenken und Staatsgestaltung in Osteuropa, vor allem in Polen/Litauen, im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 9, no. 2/3 (July 1960): 184–213.

[2] On the spread of the Polish language to the east, see Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1933) (Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Nouvelle série, Droit et lettres, 20).

[3] For religious developments, see Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la Chrétienté 1517–1648* (Paris, 1974) (Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves, 21); Janusz Tazbir, *Historia kościoła*

zation came from regionalism, a force especially strong in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Royal Prussia, Livonia, and the Ukrainian lands detached from Lithuania and annexed to Poland at the Union of Lublin.

In the early modern period the strength of regionalism among all European nobilities was considerable.[4] Yet the development of regionalism and of noble rights was very different in the Commonwealth from the Western and Central European pattern. In the West, feudalism resulted in the formation of a jig-saw puzzle of lands, regions, and cities with widely differing rights and multiple institutions serving the various corporate orders of society. The "new monarchs" and their successors in the sixteenth to eighteenth century strove to centralize their domains by whittling away at the rights of regional institutions and elites, often by playing off one order of society against another. Resistance to the rulers' centralizing policies often arose among nobilities who viewed the preservation of the constitution and the privileges of their realm, province, or region as a sacred trust.

In comparison to the lands lying to the west, the vast sixteenth-century Commonwealth appeared to be remarkably uniform in administration and institutions. Without ever having experienced true feudalism, the Kingdom of Poland was restored as a unified realm in the fourteenth century.[5] Its warrior strata developed into a numerous landed nobility, equal in rights, which gained more and more influence in government, culminating in a national Diet at the end of the fifteenth century. Enserfment of the peasantry and weak development of the cities ensured the nobles and their institutions dominance throughout the land. The Kingdom and its provinces were adminis-

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*katolickiego w Polsce 1460–1795* (Warsaw, 1966); idem, *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1958), published in English as *A State Without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1973); and Wiktor Weintraub, "Tolerance and Intolerance in Old Poland," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 13, no. 1 (1971): 21–44.

[4] On regionalism, see Dietrich Gerhard, "Regionalismus und Ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema Europäischer Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift* 174 (1952): 307–337; an English version, "Regionalism and Corporate Order as a Basic Theme of European History," appeared in Ragnhild Hatton and M. S. Anderson, eds., *Studies in Diplomatic History: Essays in Memory of David Bayne Horn* (London, 1970), pp. 155–82.

[5] See Tadeusz Manteuffel, "On Polish Feudalism," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 16 (1964): 94–104.

tered through institutions of the nobility, which saw itself as the citizenry of a republic, albeit one in which a king reigned.

Customs and practices might have varied slightly from palatinate (*województwo*) to palatinate, but full rights were assured to any noble of the Kingdom who acquired land in a given palatinate. It is true that differences in administration remained between the provinces of Little and Great Poland and that separate "general" or provincial diets existed until the early seventeenth century. However, it is also true that considerable uniformity and cohesion had developed between these core provinces of the Kingdom. Even Masovia, parts of which remained under local Piast rulers until 1529, was quickly integrated into the Kingdom, retaining only a remnant of its local law. Greater wellsprings for regionalism remained in the provinces of Royal Prussia and Livonia. Royal Prussia, part of the Kingdom, retained its own political institutions and legal codes, reflecting the greater significance of its cities, even after the Union of Lublin. Differences in social structure were reinforced by differences in language and culture between Royal Prussia and the Kingdom. (This was also true for Livonia, which after 1569 was annexed jointly by the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.) Although regionalist sentiment existed in the sixteenth-century Kingdom of Poland, the uniformity of administration and the integration of the elite were remarkably advanced for a realm so vast and so varied in ethnic, social, and economic characteristics.[6]

The Kingdom of Poland's greatest success in political and social integration occurred in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The government, laws, and social code of Poland permeated the Grand Duchy after the two territories were linked by a personal union in 1386. In time Lithuania had turned into a state with a relatively uniform administration greatly influenced by the Polish model. By 1569, the

[6] For outlines of regional privileges and a bibliography, see Juliusz Bardach, ed., *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, vol. 2: *Od połowy XV wieku do roku 1795*, by Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk and Bogusław Leśnodorski, 4th ed. (Warsaw, 1972). On the incorporation of Royal Prussia, see Wacław Odyniec, *Dzieje Prus Królewskich, 1454–1772* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 102–140. For a perceptive and wide-ranging discussion of problems of regionalism, political structure, and political theory in the Commonwealth, see Andrzej Kamiński, "Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Its Citizens (Was the Commonwealth a Stepmother for Cossacks and Ruthenians?)" in Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980), pp. 32–57.

ground for the Union of Lublin had been well prepared. Thereafter the nobilities of both realms regarded themselves as the citizens of one nobiliary republic.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, events in the Commonwealth frequently revealed the weak links in the unity of the state, as well as in the unity of the nobility. A small royal court and an agrarian economy ensured that most nobles would remain on their landed estates and that their life would revolve around provincial institutions. Defects in the central Diet favored devolution of government to palatinates and local dietines. Differences in the social order in the lands of the Commonwealth — above all, the existence of great magnates in the eastern lands — hindered the functioning of administration and political concepts according to the late sixteenth-century model. Breakdowns in public order resulted in the magnates' assembling local armies and followers, a process that has been called delayed feudalization.[7] On occasion magnates and local elites accepted foreign suzerains and entertained plans to partition the Commonwealth. Yet, despite the Commonwealth's defeats and near anarchy, loyalty to the common Fatherland and its noble nation endured.

The study of regionalism, then, is essential to understand both the Commonwealth's disfunctioning and its resilience. Of the various regionalisms in the Commonwealth, that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been most studied, for a number of reasons.[8] The Grand Duchy, a separate state until 1569, retained a separate administration, army, legal language, and law code. Although the right to ownership of land was guaranteed to all nobles of the Commonwealth, offices in the Grand Duchy were limited to those nobles actually owning land in the Duchy. Even though the union was formally a federation of two equal parts, it was clear from the first that the Kingdom of Poland and its nobility were the dominant element. Hence "separatist" tendencies

[7] See Manteuffel, "On Polish Feudalism."

[8] For a bibliography, see Leo Okinshevych, *The Law of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Background and Bibliography* (New York, 1953) (Research Program of the USSSR, Mimeo Series, 32), and Juliusz Bardach and Jerzy Ochmański, with the cooperation of Oswald Backus, *Lituanie* (Brussels, 1969) (Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droît et à l'ethnologie juridique, D 14). For a discussion of Lithuanian sentiments, see Henryk Wisner, *Najjaśniejsza Rzeczpospolita: Szkice z dziejów Polski szlacheckiej XVI–XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 13–42. Also see the discussion by Oswald Backus, Oskar Halecki, and Joseph Jakstas, "The Problem of Unity in the Polish-Lithuanian State," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 3 (1963): 411–55.

emerged not in the Kingdom but in the Grand Duchy. The divergent social structures of the two polities, above all the concentration of power in Lithuania in the hands of a few magnates, further alienated the two realms. In times of stress, such as the 1650s and the early 1700s, separatist sentiments emerged among the nobility of the Grand Duchy.

Regionalism among the nobles of the Ukrainian lands has received considerably less attention. In contrast to the nobles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the nobles of the Ukrainian lands had not brought a sovereign polity into the Commonwealth. The western Ukrainian territories and their elite had been integrated into the Kingdom of Poland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their nobility had been formed in concert with that of the Kingdom. The eastern Ukrainian territories had been absorbed piecemeal into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and their elite orders had been integrated into those of the Grand Duchy. Prior to 1569, the institutional and historical bases for Ukrainian regionalism were weak and in neither state were the Ukrainian lands a united entity with a "political nation" of nobles.

The Union of Lublin provided the institutional framework for a rise in regionalist sentiment among the nobles of the lands detached from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and annexed to the Kingdom of Poland (the palatinates of Volhynia, Kiev, and Bratslav). After having been integrated into the political and social order of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian territories experienced the introduction of Polish administrative and social models in the sixteenth century. When, at the Union of Lublin, the program for a unitary state advanced by Polish noble political theorists met with the opposition of magnates from the Grand Duchy, including some from the Ukrainian territories, many middle nobles and some princes in the Volhynian land and the Kiev palatinate acceded to Polish assertions that their lands properly belonged to the Polish Crown. The successful incorporation of the Ukrainian lands frightened the Lithuanian opposition into agreeing to closer ties with Poland and created an entirely new political and cultural situation in the Ukraine. For while the nobles of these lands had only minimal regionalist demands, they did receive guarantees of religious rights for the Orthodox church, retention of Ruthenian as the language of administration, affirmation of the Lithuanian statute as their law code, and, later, the right to trial before a separate tribunal. While the nobles achieved *de jure* equality with the

princes in one noble order, the wealthy princes were guaranteed exemption from "execution of the lands" legislation, which restored royal lands to the fisc and limited the number of offices that one noble could hold.[9]

Although done through separate charters, the very process of incorporation advanced the conceptualization of the formerly Lithuanian Ukrainian lands as a distinct entity. Following the incorporation of the Volhynian land, which was divided into the palatinates of Volhynia and Bratslav, the justifications given for annexing the Kiev "principality" were that the entire region formed a natural entity for defense purposes and that the already annexed lands must not be separated from Kiev, the major city of Rus'.[10] The conceptualization of these territories as a region with a noble nation sharing common characteristics and privileges was reaffirmed during the formation of the Chernihiv palatinate in 1635. The new palatinate, formed from the lands regained from Muscovy in 1618, was granted the rights and institutions of the Kiev palatinate, thereby integrating its nobility into that of the incorporation lands.[11]

In addition to the legal and administrative peculiarities that distinguished the incorporated palatinates, the area differed from the rest of the Kingdom by its homogeneity in nationality and religion. In 1569, its nobles, like the entire population, were predominantly Ruthenian and Orthodox. Hence the distinction between regionalist sentiment and allegiance to a religious-historical-cultural community must be observed carefully in studying the nobles of the Ukrainian lands and

[9] The question of the development of the Ukrainian nobility and the impact of the Union of Lublin upon it is discussed in my "The Problem of Nobilities in the Ukrainian Past: The Polish Period, 1569–1648," in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, ed., *Rethinking Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 29–102. On the terms and procedures of the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands, see Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands of Old Rus' into Crown Poland (1569): Socio-Material Interest and Ideology — A Reexamination," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, 21–27 August 1973,* vol. 3: *History,* ed. Anna Cienciala (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 19–52. Pelenski discusses numerous primary and secondary sources, including the incorporation charters. Special attention should be paid to Oskar Halecki, *Przyłączenie Podlasia, Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony w roku 1569* (Cracow, 1915). Because of the differences in the terms of incorporation and in subsequent fates, Podlachia is not included in this discussion.

[10] Pelenski, "Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands," pp. 28–29, 34.

[11] [*Volumina legum*] *Prawa, konstytucye y przywileie . . . ,* comp. Stanisław Konarski, 8 vols. (Warsaw, 1732–1782), 3:865.

their political thought. This is not because the two sentiments were always distinct, but rather because they often reinforced one other.

Study of Ukrainian regional sentiments is a subject traditionally beset with passion and recently consigned to oblivion. Nineteenth-century antagonisms between Poles and Ukrainians ensured that the statements and actions of nobles in the 1569 to 1648 period would be used as ammunition for national conflict.[12] Polish scholars emphasized the cultural, religious, and political assimilation of the Ruthenian elite into a higher culture, and saw this as a voluntary process that constituted an irrevocable historical decision. Ukrainian scholars scrutinized texts to find Ruthenian patriotic statements, which occurred more frequently in defense of the Rus' church than in debates over linguistic and political issues. The efforts of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians left a sizable, albeit scattered, legacy of published texts.[13] Considerable study was done on the Ruthenian nobles' defense of their faith and desire to retain their language.[14] Finally, just before the First World War, the Polish noble who became a Ukrainian patriot, Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, devoted a major monograph to the political culture of the old Ruthenian nobility.[15] It differed from earlier works, which had taken the problem to be one of the Ruthenian nobles' attitudes towards their language, culture, and religion. Due in part to his own background, Lypyns'kyi was interested in the political

[12] For a discussion of nationalist clashes over the Union of Lublin and its consequences, see Rhode, "Staaten-Union und Adelsstaat," pp. 186–89.

[13] Texts can best be searched in L. Ie. Makhnovets', *Davnia ukrains'ka literatura (XI–XVIII st. st.)* (Kiev, 1960) (Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk u p"iaty tomakh, 1). A considerable number of texts are published in Wacław Lipiński (Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi), ed., *Z dziejów Ukrainy: Księga pamiątkowa . . .* (Kiev, 1912), and *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii . . .*, 8 pts., 34 vols. (Kiev, 1859–1914). There are, of course, numerous documents in the *vedomosti* of gubernias and eparchies that remain virtually unknown.

[14] On defense of the faith, see P. N. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (do 1608)* (St. Petersburg, 1901), and his *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (s 1609)*, 6 pts. (St. Petersburg, 1902–1912); and Vasilii Bednov (Vasyl' Bidnov), *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve po "Volumina legum"* (Katerynoslav, 1908). The literature on the language issue is discussed in Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes.*

[15] See Wacław Lipiński (Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi), "Z dziejów walki szlachty ukraińskiej w szeregach powstańczych pod wodzą Bohdana Chmielnickiego," in *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 157–328 (recently republished, together with a Ukrainian translation, as *Uchast' shliakhty u velykomu ukrains'komu povstanni pid provodom Het'mana Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, ed. Lev R. Bilas [Philadelphia, 1980]).

and territorial patriotism of nobles who inhabited the Ukrainian lands, whatever their descent, culture, or religion. Since Lypyns'kyi, few scholars have discussed the political thought of the Ukrainian nobility.[16]

Recently I gained access to a text, hitherto published only in part, that I believe to be one of the most important statements of regionalism among the nobility of the Ukrainian lands incorporated during the Union of Lublin.[17] Whereas many expressions of Ruthenian patriotism and defense of Orthodoxy have been published, few regionalist political statements have been published or studied. Until now, the most important have been the rather laconic instructions given to delegations to the Diets from the Ukrainian palatinates.[18]

[16] Two doctoral theses have recently been prepared on related topics: Stephen Velychenko, "The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas on the Politics of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack Officers between 1648 and 1657" (London School of Economics, University of London, 1980); and Teresa Chyńczewska-Hennel, "Świadomość narodowa Kozaczyny i szlachty ukraińskiej w XVII wieku" (Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 1982).

[17] The beginning of the address was published by S. T. Golubev in *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki: Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia,* 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883–1898), 2, pt. 2: 153–54. Golubev cites his source as MS 66 of the Pochaiv Monastery collection of the library of the Kiev Theological Academy. This manuscript is described as MS 48 (Old 66) in V. M. Berezin, *Opisanie rukopisei Pochaevskoi lavry, khraniashchikhsia v biblioteke muzeia pri Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (Kiev, 1881), which was also published in supplements to *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii,* 1881, no. 7, pp. 1–24; no. 8, pp. 25–76; and no. 9, pp. 77–81. The manuscript is described as "A manuscript of various contents, 1653–1654, in the Polish and Latin languages, in 190 folios, written by the nobleman Ivan Grusha" (p. 75). It contains various texts of church history as well as letters and speeches, including, on folio 99, "Praxis orationum varii generis, traditarum in collegio Mohilaeano-Kioviensi studiosae juventuti." It is now part of the collections of the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev. On folios 52v–54v there is a *Votum w Senacie* by Adam Kysil. While the attribution is correct and can be verified by diaries of the Diet (cf. fn. 24 below), Kysil did not deliver it as a senator, but as a delegate to the Diet. This confusion is understandable, however, since the Diet of 1641 was the one at which Kysil received a senatorial post. The copy of his votum may have been made from a faulty text or by an uneducated copyist, as the erroneous dates given for the Union of Brest and the Union of Lublin would indicate.

[18] For instructions to delegates to the Diet and other documents, see *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1861), with an introduction by N. Ivanishev, pp. xv–lxiv. Special legislation for the territories is listed in N. P. Kovalskii (M. P. Koval's'kyi), *Istochnikovedenie istorii Ukrainy: XVI-pervaia polovina XVII veka,* pt. 3: *Kharakteristika publikatsii istochnikov na inostrannykh iazykakh:*

The text published as an appendix here (pp. 186–190) is an elaborate and polished exposition of regionalist sentiments presented at the national Diet by one of the best-known orators of the seventeenth-century Commonwealth, Adam Kysil. Kysil served as the de facto lay leader of the "Ruthenian nation" in the Commonwealth. As the leading noble of Ruthenian descent to fight for the Eastern church he was called the "head of Rus'." His greatest importance for the Commonwealth was during the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt of 1648, when he sought to mediate between the government and the Cossack leader. But from the 1620s to 1648 his career focused on the affairs of the Ukrainian lands — Cossack rebellions, controversies over the Eastern church, military commissions and campaigns, and the protection of regional privileges. He was above all a parliamentarian, respected as a spokesman for nobles of the incorporation lands, particularly for their Ruthenian inhabitants.[19]

Kysil's opinions are expressed in a *votum* he delivered before the Diet. He must have taken great care in composing it, for a votum was a public statement by which the rhetoric-conscious republic judged a delegate or senator as a statesman.[20] In addition, a votum usually circulated in numerous copies, so that the speaker was obliged to formulate his statements carefully, with an eye to their potential impact on the nobles of the Commonwealth. And when Kysil presented his defense of regional rights to the Diet, he addressed an issue that also had immediate implications for his own career.

The Chernihiv palatinate created in 1635 was considered to be a restoration of lands alienated since the early sixteenth century, when Lithuania had lost them to Muscovy. The new palatinate was granted the privileges of the Kiev palatinate. Yet when Kysil was appointed

*Uchebnoe posobie* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1978), pp. 14–19. On the Luts'k tribunal, see the articles by M. N. Iasinskii, in *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora letopistsa:* "Lutskii tribunal kak vysshaia sudebnaia instantsiia dlia Volynskogo, Bratslavskogo i Kievskogo voevodstva v poslednei chetverti XVI v.," 14 (1900), pt. 2: 3–72; and "Materialy dlia istorii Lutskogo tribunala (1578–1589)," 13 (1899), pt. 3: 3–34.

19 On Adam Kysil, see my doctoral thesis, "Adam Kysil, Statesman of Poland-Lithuania: A Case Study in the Commonwealth's Rule of the Ukraine" (Harvard University, 1976).

20 On the importance of public speeches in the political life of the Commonwealth, see Władysław Czapliński, "Wybór posła w dawnej Polsce," in his *Dawne czasy: Opowiadania i szkice historyczne z XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1957), pp. 227–29.

castellan, on 1 December 1639, he was assigned to a senatorial post of lesser rank, among the "particular" or "minor" castellans, although all other castellans of the incorporation lands were "general" or "major" ones.[21] His refusal to accept the appointment rallied the nobles of the incorporation territories and led to a struggle against the abridgement of regional rights. Just prior to the 1641 Diet, Kysil was supported by the dietine of Volhynia, which instructed its delegates: "Whereas we do not have in our palatinates 'particular' castellans, but 'general,' and whereas the palatinate of Chernihiv, as settled upon the territory of the capital of our Rus', Kiev, is incorporated in all laws and customs to the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav, and in its ordinance one castellan is decreed, as is one general palatine, so he [the castellan of Chernihiv] should remain among the general castellans."[22] The Volhynian nobles went on to thank Kysil for his valiant defense of the rights of the incorporation lands. After the Diet on 25 September 1641, Kysil received a new confirmation of office. The king admitted that Kysil's office was that of a major castellan and requested him to make this new decision known to the inhabitants of the four incorporation palatinates.[23] In delivering his votum before the Diet on 17 September 1641, Kysil must have been keenly aware that his defense of the other regional interests of the incorporation lands was inherently a justification for his own actions on the controversy over the Chernihiv palatinate.[24]

Like all discussions of nobiliary political thought in the Commonwealth, Kysil's votum was based on the premises that the liberty of each noble was inviolable, and that the Commonwealth constituted the aggregate of each noble's liberties. Its central purpose was to condemn what the speaker perceived as an assault on the liberty of a region's nobility resulting from the infringement of regional privileges. To

[21] For Kysil's appointment, see Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD), Warsaw, Metryka Koronna, MS 185, fols. 221–22. For complaints on his status, see the instructions of the Volhynian dietine to delegates to the Diet of 1641, 13 July 1641. *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 2, vol. 1: 270–71.
[22] *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 2, vol. 1: 271.
[23] AGAD, Metryka Koronna, MS 185, fol. 408.
[24] I have established the date of Kysil's delivery of the votum by comparing its text with the description in a diary of a speech he gave before the Diet of 1641: Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Polonia Varia Akc. 1949/KN 441 (Steinwehr III), fol. 82.

illustrate his arguments, Kysil described the Commonwealth as a mystical body being poisoned by the putrid blood of inequity infused into one of its parts. His metaphor echoed the terminology of the incorporation charters, which compares the incorporation to the return of a limb to its "body and head."[25]

In justifying his complaint Kysil articulated a number of tenets of regionalism in the Ukrainian lands. That the four incorporation palatinates and their nobilities were a regional bloc was asserted by his insistence that he spoke in the name of the nobility of all four. That Kysil could do so as a delegate from the Chernihiv palatinate is evidence of the close relationship of the four palatinates based on common legal interests and geographic exigencies. Kysil identified the four palatinates as Ruthenian, thereby designating them as Rus' par excellence.[26] The designation of the incorporation lands as "all four Ruthenian palatinates" drew upon the incorporation charters. The claim of the Polish Crown and Kingdom had been pressed on the grounds that, in the reign of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, "the land or province of Kiev as the head of the lands of Rus', Podolia and Volhynia, together with the aforesaid lands, came to the lands of the Kingdom and the Crown of Poland" and that "Kiev has been and still is the head and the major city of the land of Rus', and that the whole land of Rus' (*ruska ziemia wszytka*) has been adjoined to the Crown of Poland among her other foremost members since times past by our predecessors, the Polish kings. . . ."[27] Therefore in these charters the intrinsic unity of the Ukrainian lands was affirmed and the exclusion from Rus' of the Belorussian lands, not included in the incorporation, was implied. Although Kysil concurred with the incorporation charters in excluding Belorussia from "all four Ruthenian palatinates," he did not follow them in affirming a unity of the western and eastern Ukrainian lands. In fact, by limiting the designation "Ruthenian" to the incorporation lands, he excluded the Ruthenian palatinate itself, as well as the Belz and Podolian palatinates. In short, he chose to identify

[25] *Volumina legum,* 2: 753. Pelenski, "Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands," p. 33. I have used Professor Pelenski's English translations of the charters.

[26] One discrepancy between the text of the votum and the description in the diary of the Diet is the use of "Ukrainne" in the diary: Steinwehr III, fol. 82. This usage reveals the other significant development in nomenclature of the period, the conversion of *Ukrainne województwa* and *Ukraina* into a specific geographic designation and their extension to all the incorporation lands.

[27] Pelenski, "Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands," p. 34.

Rus' with the lands that shared common laws, privileges, and administrative practices.

In his votum Kysil selected a designation of Rus' that emphasized legal-territorial rather than historical-cultural factors. Hence, he outlined the grievances of the nobility of the annexed lands as an infringement of the incorporation charters and pointed again to their guarantee that the nobles of these lands had accepted incorporation as "free [men] to free [men]."[28] His characterization of the incorporation as an agreement between the Sarmatian Ruthenians of the incorporation lands and the Sarmatian Poles of the Kingdom of Poland manifested his legal-territorial definition of Rus'. Among "Sarmatian Poles" in 1569 were many Ruthenian and Orthodox nobles of the western Ukrainian lands. Kysil chose to ignore these Ruthenians, though, as we shall see later, he took them into account during his explication of grievances. At the same time, he chose to label the entire nobility of the incorporation lands as Sarmatian Ruthenians, regardless of their descent and religion. Kysil's territorial definitions of the Ruthenians supports the observations of Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi that the territorial factor was so strong in seventeenth-century Ukraine that Roman Catholic inhabitants were in some contexts referred to as "Rus' of the Roman rite."[29] While this use of Rus' has been generally recognized by scholars for the Ruthenian palatinate, it has largely been ignored for the incorporation lands.

The first grievance that Kysil took up in his votum indicated that despite his emphasis on the legal-territorial aspect of Rus' as the four annexed palatinates, he also saw Rus' as a cultural-religious community living in other areas of the Commonwealth. Such disparate definitions of Rus' were inevitable in any discussion of the persecution of the Orthodox church, a problem not confined to the incorporation lands. The Orthodox issue had been debated at almost all Diets after the Union of Brest. The steadily weakening position of Orthodox nobles in the western Ukrainian lands and Belorussia placed the burden of defense on the nobles of the incorporation lands. Although the Orthodox church throughout the Commonwealth had been granted privileges both before and after the Union of Brest, Kysil focused on the incorporation charters of 1569 as the guarantor of

[28] *Volumina legum,* 2: 753, 760.
[29] Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy,* p. 99.

Orthodox privileges. Central to his argument were the assumptions that the nobles of the incorporation lands represented the entire Rus' people, and that the guarantees of the acts of incorporation had force outside the annexation territories.

Kysil argued: "The year was 1569 when the Ruthenians acceded to the Crown, and the year was 1596 when a few Ruthenians instigated the union. Since it was not to those Ruthenians who did not yet exist that the rights were given, it follows clearly that the privileges have been given to us, who are living today, and to our ancestral religion."[30] By resting the Orthodox case on the guarantees of the incorporation, Kysil avoided the complex issue of whether privileges had been issued in the fourteenth or fifteenth century at a time when the Ruthenians could be considered in union with Rome. By referring to 1569, he could also largely ignore the tangled web of decrees and privileges issued after the Union of Brest, although he did mention the division of church benefices and buildings between the Uniates and Orthodox agreed upon during the election of Władysław IV (1632–33) and its reaffirmation in 1635.[31] Kysil chose to point to acts that dealt with a specific territory and to treat them as if they applied to the entire Commonwealth. Hence he brought up the controversy over the Lublin church in his votum, and during the Diet frequently spoke out about the controversy over the bishopric of Peremyshl'.[32] Although he did not explain how the agreements of 1569 affected areas outside the incorporation territories, we can assume that he saw the persecution of the Orthodox church anywhere as an infringement on the religious liberty of the Orthodox nobles of the incorporation lands. That for authority he referred to the acts of 1569, rather than to the Confederation of 1573, which guaranteed religious toleration throughout the Commonwealth, emphasizes his conviction that the incorporation charters were the primary regulatory decrees defining the rights of the incorporation lands' nobles in the Commonwealth.

Although Kysil complained primarily about discrimination against Orthodox nobles, he also defended the rights of other strata of the population. He defended the liberty of the commoners of the "Ru-

30 The manuscript copy is corrupt, giving 1564 and 1576 as the dates, but the context makes clear that these are a copyist's errors.
31 Steinwehr, III, fol. 84.
32 Steinwehr, III, fol. 84.

thenian nation" as well as of the nobility, and he denounced the ill-treatment of commoners and priests as well as of nobles, thereby defining the Rus' in cultural-religious rather than only social-territorial terms. This identification of the "Ruthenian nation" as a community composed of a number of orders was accompanied by a differentiation of the community along religious lines. Kysil described the conflict as being between "old Rus'" — the Orthodox, and "new Rus'" — the Uniates, thereby revealing his conception of the Rus' community as one that had formerly been monoreligious and whose factions still retained Rus' identity. In broaching the religious issue, Kysil touched upon the territorial, social, national, and religious aspects of the designations "Rus'" and "Ruthenian nation" that make their meaning so variable and complex in seventeenth-century texts.[33]

In addressing the question of princely titles, Kysil took up a controversy that affected only the nobility of the incorporation lands — and in fact, only one part of it. In the mid-1630s, Władysław IV planned to create a royal order named for the Immaculate Conception to be conferred on foreign dignitaries and loyal nobles from within the Commonwealth. The plan met with firm opposition from non-Catholics, who feared the increasing influence of the Catholic church at court, from numerous magnates and senators, who saw the plan as creating an elite royalist party, and from the nobility as a whole, who saw it as a threat to the principle of nobiliary equality. The opposition was directed especially at Władysław's close collaborator, Jerzy Ossoliński, who had secured confirmation of the order's statute from Rome. The plan was abandoned, due to the widespread opposition, but the furor over the breach of nobiliary equality led to attacks against Ossoliński for having accepted the title of prince from the Habsburgs. At the Diet of 1638, the infuriated Ossoliński agreed to renounce his title, but only if the princely titles stemming from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were also revoked. The offer, aimed against his political enemies, was applauded by the many delegates who were against all gradations within the nobility. But the proposal clearly contravened the terms of the Union of Lublin and of the

[33] For a discussion of various definitions of Rus', see my articles "Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement," in Potichnyj, *Poland and Ukraine,* pp. 72–73, and "Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: An Examination of the 'Discourse on the Present Cossack or Peasant War'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 4 (1981): 452–464.

incorporation charters. The princes immediately began to campaign for the preservation of their titles, in which they were supported by the delegates from Lithuania and the incorporation lands. Although the Diet excluded the titles "accepted at the union" from its abolition of foreign titles, the eastern princes thought their position was threatened. Also, no specific mention was made of the titles guaranteed in the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into the Kingdom.[34]

When Kysil, himself not a prince, defended the titles of the princes, he was responding to the wishes of a very important part of the nobles of the eastern lands. The power of the princes had ensured that the Volhynian dietine (the only one in the incorporation lands for which records are extant) demanded a new guarantee of the princely titles.[35] Kysil undoubtedly reflected the sentiments of many non-princely nobles who, though attracted to the principle of nobiliary equality, still viewed any infringement of the incorporation charters as an attack on the liberties of all the nobles of the region.

In defending the right of princes to their titles, Kysil adhered closely to the words of the incorporation charters. He based his argument on the guarantees made to the princes at the incorporation and on the services the princes had rendered in defending the region. He maintained that "the orders of princes and noble families" had embarked jointly on the union and that if the rights of princes were endangered, so soon might be the rights of the nobility. Although he emphasized that "the princes accepted equality and parity with our noble order," Kysil maintained, too, that "we swore to hold their names in ancient honor and dignity." He told the Diet: "You, Gracious Lords, accepted two orders in the union and incorporation as an explicit wording." In fact, his discussion of princes and nobles as two separate orders neither reflected the exact words of the incorporation charters nor the social divisions intended by that legislation.[36] His insistence that the princes and nobles constituted two separate orders was an archaism that conflicted with the constitutional theory of the Commonwealth and with the very guarantee of equality. That in 1641 Kysil could still

[34] For a discussion of the affair, see Ludwik Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński,* 2 vols. (Lviv, 1883), 1: 164–73. The constitution is in *Volumina legum,* 3: 931.
[35] 27 August 1639. *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 2, vol. 1: 255–56.
[36] On the wording of the charters, see Stanisław Kutrzeba and Władysław Semkowicz, *Akta Unji Polski z Litwą, 1385–1791* (Cracow, 1932), pp. 300–319. The most similar wording occurs in the order that the Volhynian populace swear allegiance to the Kingdom of Poland; ibid., p. 298.

discuss princes and nobles as distinct orders testifies to the conservatism of political thought in the incorporation lands and to the continuing strength of regional traditions there.

In contrast to the issues of titles and Orthodox grievances, which directly pertained only to a segment of nobles, Kysil's discussion of military affairs affected all nobles and non-nobles in the incorporation lands. The inability of the government of the Grand Duchy to help inhabitants of its Ukrainian lands fend off Tatar attacks had predisposed the nobility of the region towards annexation by Poland. The more powerful Kingdom, with a proven interest in defending its Ukrainian territories of the Podolian and Ruthenian palatinates from Tatar incursions, seemed more likely to deal with the problem effectively. In 1562–1563, the Diet attempted to substitute for the lack of an army in the Kingdom and to deal with the defense problem in the southeast by setting up a standing army to be paid from revenue from royal lands. The "Wojsko Kwarciane" (named after the quarter of the revenue of the royal lands allotted for their maintenance) normally numbered between 3,000 and 5,000 men, but was greatly augmented during wartime. The troops' pay often came late and their quartering was a burden on local landowners, whose estates they frequently pillaged. To the nobles, the troops often seemed as great a scourge as the Tatars and Cossacks they were intended to control. Tatar attacks, Cossack rebellions, and frontier violence prompted most palatinates to recruit their own troops, and magnates kept private armies that rivaled the standing forces. Therefore the nobles of the Ukraine paid taxes, lost revenue from the army's quartering and pillaging, and expended funds on additional troops.[37]

At the Diet of 1641 Kysil faced a body loathe to raise taxes and pacifist because it was fearful that any military activity would lead to the aggrandizement of royal power. In the late 1630s and early 1640s, unlike the nobles of the Ukrainian lands, the nobles of Little and Great Poland, Masovia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had little reason to be concerned about military affairs or payments to standing troops. By contrast, in the late 1630s the nobles of Volhynia and Kiev had shown how vitally concerned they were with military issues. When threatening to block all legislation in an effort to secure rights for the

[37] On the military in this period, see Jan Wimmer, *Wojsko polskie w drugiej połowie XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1965), pp. 11–37.

Orthodox church, they took care to except the issue of military taxes.[38]

Kysil voiced the frustration and fears of the nobles of the Ukraine when he addressed the Diet. He maintained that the burden of war and the benefits of peace should fall equally on the entire Commonwealth, not on the inhabitants of the Ruthenian territories alone. He likened the situation of the Ukrainian lands to that of the provinces of the Roman republic that were forced to maintain troops. Yet, he argued, while these provinces had been conquered, the "Ruthenian provinces and principalities" had joined the Commonwealth freely. In calling for equal distribution of the burden of maintaining the army, he argued that wintering troops outside the Ukrainian lands was impractical since it would give the Tatars the advantage in mounting attacks. He even went so far as to propose that the Commonwealth abandon the pretense of unity in defense and that each province defend itself — hardly an acceptable alternative for the nobles of the Ukrainian lands — before he demanded an equalization of obligations.

Kysil concluded his votum with an appeal to his fellow nobles to look upon "these pestilential symptoms of slavery in the body of the Commonwealth." He warned that the "mystical body of the Commonwealth" would decompose if the nobles of the incorporation lands were forced "to drink of slavery." He vowed that his generation and their descendants would continue to demand their rights as long as they were able to do so. Should these rights not be restored, however, inequality would destroy the "free Commonwealth" and all its citizens would come to know the fate of slavery.

Contemporary responses to the three grievances lodged in the votum were very different. The problem of princely titles was resolved immediately. The Diet passed a constitution reaffirming the right of the eastern princes to their titles as guaranteed by the Union of Lublin as well as by the incorporation charters.[39] The Diet also reaffirmed previous legislation on the rights of the Orthodox church, but on this matter the legislation was far from decisive.[40] Kysil complained about

[38] See the instructions of the Volhynian nobility to delegates to the Diet dated 27 January 1638 and 27 August 1639, *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 2, vol. 1: 231, 256–58. For exceptions made on military issues, see the Diet diary of 1638 in Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Polonica Varia, Akc. 1949/KN 439 (Steinwehr II), fol. 474.

[39] *Volumina legum,* 4: 8–9.

[40] *Volumina legum,* 4: 6–7.

the exclusion of Orthodox nobles from offices, but such appointments were determined by the king and local dietines, not by the national Diet. Although Władysław IV was relatively tolerant, he was influenced by powerful Catholics at court. About his successor, there could be no guarantee. Local dietines reflected the power relations of the local nobilities: as the Orthodox diminished in numbers and Catholics became more and more influenced by the Counter-Reformation, the dietines were less likely to elect Orthodox candidates to offices. But the essential problem lay in the very practice of the nobiliary freedom that Kysil extolled. Powerful Catholic nobles and bishops could act with relative impunity against Orthodox institutions and commoners. Legal redress seldom resulted in restitution. Ultimately, in 1641, as half a century earlier, the Orthodox church needed powerful protectors to ensure that its rights would be honored. The major difference was that there were fewer and fewer Orthodox nobles who could fill this need.

The most difficult of the problems Kysil broached was that of military burdens. Indeed, failure to establish an adequately financed standing army would eventually bring the Commonwealth to ruin. The Ukraine, an area that so desperately required a solution to the financial and social problems of the military, found little sympathy or understanding in other areas of the Commonwealth. This was to become even more apparent in 1648, when the nobles of Great Poland and other safe regions were initially unwilling to sacrifice their purses or to risk their lives for the nobles of the incorporation lands.

As a political statement, the votum represents an adamant assertion of regionalist sentiment. While its hyperbolic condemnation of the deprivation of liberties was common in the nobiliary literature of the time, its political-constitutional premises represent a particularly well-developed statement of regionalism. Rus', the incorporation land, is treated as distinct from the older lands of the Crown. Sarmatian Poles and Sarmatian Ruthenians are discussed as two separate political nations. The incorporation charters of 1569 are discussed as a vital, fundamental constitution well rooted in the consciousness of the area's nobility.

Kysil vowed that his generation and its descendants would never cease to demand their regional rights. He was, of course, mistaken. Within a decade, the incorporation lands had been swept by a political and social revolt that transformed the nobility almost beyond recogni-

tion. Even in the areas in which the Commonwealth ultimately prevailed, the composition and the characteristics of the nobility were drastically altered. These changes weakened the nobility's attachment to the regionalist political traditions that existed prior to 1648.

The votum was a call for the restoration of proper order in the Commonwealth through the preservation of regional rights. Although deep disaffection with the state of affairs in the Commonwealth was expressed, the basic political and social order of the Commonwealth went unquestioned. It is not surprising, then, that when in 1648 an uprising in the Ukraine threatened to overturn the existing order, many nobles in the Ukraine set aside their concerns about regional privileges and fought to preserve their connection with the noble republic. It is true that some nobles who felt strongly about the Orthodox issue or who were impressed by the might of the Cossack Hetmanate passed over to the rebel camp. By so doing, they weakened the constituency for regionalist sentiments among nobles loyal to the Commonwealth.

While nobiliary regionalism did not have direct continuity after the 1640s, its development between 1569 and 1648 and its influence after the great revolt should be studied carefully. As a trend in political thought, the evolution of the concept of the unity of the incorporation lands and their designation as Rus' requires examination. Hence, we must pay closer attention to the disputes over privileges guaranteed by the incorporation charters and to the special legislation for the incorporation lands. This may well help us ascertain the degree to which the cultural, religious, historical, social, geographic and economic differences between the Ukrainian lands and the other territories of the Commonwealth — all so salient to the modern historian — were manifest in the political thought of the elite of the seventeenth century. We must also place Ukrainian regionalism in the context of political thought and events in the Commonwealth as a whole. Once the phenomenon of Ukrainian nobiliary regionalism is better understood, we can begin to appreciate its impact on the revolution of 1648 and the political thought of the Hetmanate. In that regionalism lay the seeds of the Treaty of Hadiach of 1658 and of its attempt to form a Duchy of Rus' within a restructured Commonwealth.

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## APPENDIX

### *Votum of Adam Kysil delivered before the Diet of 1641**

Tsentral'na naukova biblioteka Akademii nauk URSR.
Former manuscripts of the Pochaiv Lavra,
MS 48 (formerly 66), fols. 52v–54v.

Trzy rzeczy albo raczej swobody liberam constituunt Rempublicam; trzy opposita tym swobodom conficiunt servitutem. Albowiem gdzie usus nativi honoris wolny, gdzie wolny szafunek substancji, gdzie wolny szafunek sumnienia, nad którym sam jeden Bóg panuje i onemu rozkazuje, tam jest wolna Rzeczpospolita. Lecz gdzie tak wierzą, jako każą, tak zażywają honoris, jak muszą, nie w takiej swobodzie substancje mają, w jakiej chcą, tam już exulat libertas, następuje servitus. Konkluzja to jest wszystkich polityków. Nikt mi tego znieść nie może, że te są symptomata servitutis, owe zasię demonstrant illa argumenta libertatis.

Ten, W-ci M.M.PP. założywszy fundament mowy mojej, z wielkim żalem pozostałych w domach braciej nie z jednego województwa, ale ze wszystkich czterech ruskich województw żałosnej servitutis faciem prezentuję W. M-ciam M.M.PP. Bo nie w tej Rzeczypospolitej, do której properabant przodkowie nasi i accesserunt wolni do wolnych, swobodni do swobodnych, żyjemy, ale in summa servitute.

Co chcąc deducere W. M.-ciam M.M.PP., ut nigrum[1] oppositum album appareat magis, [pytam]: Jakie pacta przodków W.M.M.PP. z przodkami naszemi były? Jakie są swobody poprzysiężone, a jako funditus są zrujnowane? To troje przypominam, co jest z ruskiemi księstwy a Koroną. Primum, że przodkowie nasi Sarmatae Rossi do W.M., ad Sarmatas Polonos libere accesserunt, cum suis diis penatibus przynieśli prowincje i w nich swoję avitam religionem; że tak jest wyniesiony zakon grecki z zakonem W.M.-ciów rzymskim (dlatego tak mówię, bo to są formalia verba privilegiorum) in uno praedicamento, w jednym poszanowaniu jest położony i uprzywilejowany, równy aditus nam do wszelkich honorów i przodkom naszym, tak Graecae jako i Romanae professionis, obwarowany, pogotowiu katedry nasze i jeszcze barziej sumnienia nasze w takiej swobodzie w takiej wolności są warowane, w jakiej W.M-ci Moi Miłościwi Panowie sami żyjecie.

* The text has been prepared for publication in accordance with the rules for seventeenth-century historical documents given in K. Lepszy, ed., *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953). I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Bohdan Struminsky, for his invaluable help in preparing the text for publication. Note the list of abbreviations, p. 190.

[1] Probably a copyist's error for *nigro*.

A zaraz żeby mi kto nie zarzucił tego, że się to ma rozumieć o zakonie greckim w uniej będącym, deklaruję krótko, że materies purior est sua possessione. Rok był 1564,[2] kiedy Ruś accessit do Korony, rok zasię 1576,[3] kiedy kilka Rusi unią wzniecili. Jako tedy nie tej Rusi, jakiej nie było jeszcze, ale tej, która była, dane prawo, tak liquet jaśnie, że nam, którzy i dzisia jesteśmy, et nostrae avitae religioni te dane są privilegia.

Jeśliż tedy w takiej jest obserwancjej, w jakiej był zakon grecki przyjęty? I jeśli w takiej swobodzie są[4] sumnienia nasze i wolności? Taż jest też wolność nasza i wszystkiego grona pospolitego narodu ruskiego, a my płonne kwerymonie przynosimy przed W.M-ciami M.M.PP.? Lecz nie w tej są swobodzie, toć nie w tej Rzeczypospolitej wolnej i swobodnej. Aże to jest bene notum W.M-ciam M.M.PP. wszytkim, że odjęta nam jest ta swoboda, toć odjęta nam wolność, zrujnowane fundamenta wolności naszych, a my, libertatis filii, w jarzmie niewolej karki nasze nosimy.

Jakie tej niewoli są vestigia, prawa W.M-ciów M.M. Panów nas uczą każdego ab anno 1576[3] aż do dnia dzisiejszego. Psowała się krew wolności naszej, aż też już tak jest corruptus sanguis, że żyć dalej nie możemy. Brano pierwej beneficja Rusi starej, dawano je Rusi nowej. Odbierano murowane katedry, kościoły [nie] pozwalano dla wolnego szafunku sumnienia nowe sobie budować. Dzielono potym nowymi z starymi kościołami i ten dział pactis conventis aprobowano i świątobliwością przysięgi Jego Królewskiej Mci Pana Naszego zapieczętowano. Teraz już i te ostatnie przysięgi violantur passim et ubique. Zabrano cerkwie, zabroniono exercitium liberum, zniesiono lubelską cerkiew, totius nobilitatis pignus et patrimonium wzięto per fora, trzymają insze, tak że po wszystkich miastach ubogi naród coelos rumpit suspiriis. Pełne turmy pospolitego człowieka, pełne łańcuchy, kajdany kapłanów, a stan szlachecki pełen opresji — by najwięcej służył, nic nie wysłuży, splendory, honory brak mają, distributivum iuste meritum respectu religionis mija, ex quo kto jest familiej greckiej et avitae religionis, już nie jest capax dignitatis, już diminutus, z największemi krwawemi zasługami swemi non bene meruit in Republica, sed bene exploratus in religione praemia bierze. Ta tedy pierwsza basis libertatis, która jest wyrażona in pactis, że rzymskiego i greckiego stanu obywatele w jednej czci i godności być mieli, jest funditus eversa i zrujnowana.

Ale nie dosyć na tej niewoli nobis, civibus Patriae, że religio jest diminuta i po niej stan szlachecki i że wolny szafunek sumnienia jest zabroniony. Idę do drugiej a nie mniejszej niewoli. A ta jest, że nativi honoris nie jest wolna Ruś [?]. Dwa stany przecie [?] W.M.M.M-wi PP. w unią i inkorporacyją expressis

[2] A copyist's error for 1569.
[3] A copyist's error for 1596.
[4] The word *swobodzie* is mistakenly repeated after *są*.

verbis przyjęliście. W.M.M. czytam te słowa: "stany książęce [i] familie szlacheckie". Et limitatus jeden — drży skóra na drugim. Deliquerunt nihil książęta, ut priventur honore. Już tedy nie masz stanu książęcego? Quis sponsor, że nie przyjdzie do nas, szlacheckiej familiej? A choćby nie przyszło, są bracia nasi, decora et emolumenta krajów naszych. Oni za nas pułkami i asystencjami swymi i za wszytką Ojczyznę zastanawiają się nieprzyjaciołom. My za nich tenemur ex vi coniunctionis nostrae kłaść zdrowia nasze i substancje. Iura nostra sunt consecrata coniuncta manu. Za ręce się wziąwszy, szli do uniej książęta i szlachta, a drudzy inkorporowali się in regnum, i stanęło pactum, a wieczne pactum, że książęta aequalitatem i paritatem przyjęli z stanem naszym szlacheckim. A mychmy też obiecali i poprzysięgli także. Lubo oni nam równi zostali, nomina ich przecie w starodawnej ich czci i dostojności mieć poprzysięglichmy. Teraz nie w tej są czci i dostojności, w której po wszytkie wieki były. Toć ich już honor w niewoli. A zatym drugi filar uniej et incorporationum jest obalony i nie są w wolnej Rptej bracia nasi książeta, ale są w niewoli.

Ale jeszcze nie dosyć na tym, że w ruskich krajach jedni na sumnieniu, drudzy na honorze sunt oppressi et depressi. Następuje trzecie argumentum niewoli. Substancje wszytkie niewolne, nieporządnym wojska zatrzymaniem funditus zniesione włości. W czym nasza krzywda, sama ratio loquitur. In aequali Republica inaequale onus dźwigać — co być może żałośniejszego? Pokój jest dobro wszytkiej Rptej, wojsko jest wszytkiej Rptej, lecz nie wszytka Rpta to wojsko sustenuje. W starej Rzymskiej Rptej prezentują nam starzy historykowie mancipatas jakieś provincias, na które zwykli byli Romani exonerare wojska swoje. Tam wszytkie legiones et exercitus na potrzebę wszytkiej Rptej Rzymskiej fovebant, tam stativa et hiberna wojskom swoim czynili, sami omni onere soluti zostawając. Lecz że Romani ad imperandum tym prowincjom nascebantur, a te prowincje ad parendum im et haec onera sustinenda, już to im jarzmo zwyczajne na karkach swoich nosić musieli. Prowincje i kstwa ruskie non sunt mancipatae, w jednej że wolności i swobodzie przyjęte i będące, nie powinne takim podlegać ciężarom. A gdy teraz ten ciężar, wszystkiej Rzeczypospolitej wojsk chowanie, ponoszą, redolent servitutem i onym rzymskim prowincjom aequi parantur. Swobodnie W.M.M.M.PP. in meditullio żywiecie Rptej. Przez nasze ojczyzny tam i sam przechodzą wojska, przez co bogate poniszczały włości. W naszych dziedzictwach ustawicznie stativa et hiberna zadłużonemu żołnierzowi, który, głodny będąc i nie mając się czym sustenować z własnych, z dóbr naszych żyć et sanguinem poddanych naszych sugere musi.

Nie dosyć że na tym, że saepius pokój Rptej, w którym W.M.M. żyjecie, piersiami naszemi sami zasłaniamy, wojsk Rptej sami sobą i pocztami naszemi nadstawiamy i krwią i zdrowiem naszym gotujemy pokój i całość Rptej? Nie dosyć na tym, że anniversarii hostes, ordy tatarskie ogniem i szablą

ojczyste gniazda nasze znoszą? Nie dosyć na tym, że podatki równo z W.M.M. na wojska dajemy? Czemuż jeszcze ma nas premare ta calamitas, żebychmy sami te wojska sustenować mieli? In communi Republica commune bonum et malum być musi. Gdy gloria, victoriae, pokój redundant na wszytkę Rptą, czemu onera wojsk i wojen na nas samych redundare mają? Albo modum belli gerendi pristinum raczcie W.M.M. resumere. Stawajmy obok osobami swemi sami wszyscy, równo niewczasów zażywajmy, a swym chlebem każdy się sustenujmy i w domach swych hibernae mieć będziemy. Albo jeśli pieniężnym żołnierzem wojować i granice Rptej tenere chcemy, spólnie się wszyscy ad sustentandum militem, tak, jako konstytucyją już de hibernis i komisyją naznaczoną jest elaboratum, skłonić [musimy] in aequalitate nostra. Ordinaria bowiem praesidia ordinarium exercitum, ordinarius exercitus ordinarium sustentamentum mieć potrzebuje. A jako pieniężna płata wojsku Rptej colligitur ze wszytkiej Rptej, tak prowiant temuż wojsku, suadet ratio, iubet aequalitatis, non unius Russiae, sed totius Reipublicae.[5] Przynosi [to] hetmanom i wojskom infelicitatem, przynosi rei bene gerendae stratę, a zgoła arguit irrationabilem exciebiarum [?] et praesidiorum Reipublicae modum. Czego docuit nos experientia z wielką Ojczyzny szkodą. Gdy bowiem kwarciane chorągwie i pułki nie mogą się na Ukrainie sustenować, dissipantur po odleglejszych prowincjach. A wpada nieprzy[jaciel] w pograniczne ukrainne włości — już tracą dwa hetmani przedniejsze terminy antevertendi i avertendi hostem. W trzecim tylko, nieszczęśliwym terminie zostawa onustum już praeda et spoliis ścigać nieprzyjaciela. I ten trudno się nadać może, bo odległość żołnierska celeritati hostis wydołać nie może albo fatigat continuo cursu repentino dniem i nocą i siebie samych wprzód zwołując, niżeli z nieprzy[jacie]lem wprzód manus conserere przyjdzie. Zaczym, rem tam bene gerendi uroniwszy, frustrati w zapędach swoich zostawać muszą. Ta jest korzyść, to niebłogosławieństwo Pańskie inaequalitatis et servitutis nostrae, tertia nota et argumentum.

Resumo tedy, quod praemisi. Nie w tej wolnej i swobodnej Rptej, do której accesserunt przodkowie nasi, ale in servitute niewolne sumienie, niewolny honor, niewolne dobra ojczyste mamy. A my non ad regionem, sed cum regione, non ad religionem, sed cum religione, nie do tytułów i honorów, ale z tytułami i honorami accessimus do tej spólnej Ojczyzny naszej.

Przetoż, Moi M-ciwi PP. i Bracia, attollite oculos vestros i chciejcie wejrzeć na te pestifera ciała Rptej, symptomata servitutis. Concipite [?] in animis vestris, jako jest ciężka in paritate imparitas, in aequalitate inaequalitatis.[6] Co in physico corpore operatur: purus, który ex natura et utero parentis bierzemy, sanguis; że póki non corrumpitur ten, póty trwa zdrowie. Cor-

[5] Genitive after *iubet* must be a Polonism (cf. *wymaga równości,* etc.).
[6] A copyist's error for *inaequalitas.*

rupto sanguine resolvitur corpus. Toż się dzieje in mystico Reipublicae corpore: quibus causis coalescit Respublica, eisdem retinetur. Mlekiem wolności alliciti są przodkowie nasi do tejże Ojczyzny, mlekiem wolności educati jesteśmy, trudno nam kto może propinare servitutem. Albo chciejcie nas W.M.M. w tych wolnościach, które nam są poprzysiężone, dotrzymać i onym spólnie consulere, albo to sobie obiecywać, że nobis marcescentibus i W.M.M. sami w jedno w swobodach i wolnościach swoich musicie. Bo póki stat jeśli nie wolność, tedy simulacrum wolności, i póki wolny głos w Ojczyźnie non extinguetur, dotąd my wolnemi głosami naszymi i wszytkich W.Mciów desideriis resistere będziemy i po nas successores nostri będą; aż albo nam restituentur wolności nasze i równo z nich z W.M-ści Mm. M. PP. cieszyć się będziemy, albo, czego nie życzymy Ojczyźnie, W.M-ciom M.PP. i Ojczyźnie i sobie, in eadem sorte unaque fortuna et conditione servitutis oglądamy się, jeśli mogąc, a nie chcąc liberrimum liberae Reipublicae zaoszczędzić statum, rujnować go in imparitate et inaequalitate będziemy.

ABBREVIATIONS

Rpta, Rptej, etc. — Rzeczpospolita, Rzeczypospolitej, etc.
M.M.PP. — Moi Miłościwi Panowie
W.M. — Waszmość
W.M.M. — Waszmości Moi
W.M.M.M.PP. — Waszmości Moi Miłosciwi Panowie

# The Attitude of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union toward the Jews (1880–1881)*

M. MISHKINSKY

Were it not for its ideological controversies, one would surely assert that the revolutionary movement in tsarist Russia in the 1870s[1] had an agrarian orientation. To the revolutionary *narodniki* (populists), the *narod* (people) or *rabochii narod* (working people) comprised above all the peasantry, whom they imagined to be rebellious by instinct and tradition. The famous populist motto "Go to the people!" called for going out to the villages with enlightening radical propaganda and organizational work that would stir up rebellion leading to a social revolution. The populists regarded the *obshchina* (village community) as the prototype and embryo of the future socialist society.[2] The idea persevered, to some extent, even after the going-to-the-people movement dissipated and the torch of revolutionary activity passed on to the politically-oriented *Narodnaia volia* (People's Will).

The wage-earning laboring class was considered part of the *narod*. But in revolutionary potential and in prospects for the socialist transformation of society, the workers were viewed as having less importance that the peasantry, and the *artel*, an old form of workers' guild, was not considered to have the potential of the *obshchina*. "The main strength of the people is not in them [the urban workers] but in the peasantry,"[3] read the "Program of Workers, Members of *Narodnaia*

* I am obliged to the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Center for Jewish Studies at Harvard University for assistance and research facilities provided during the preparation of this study.

1 Division of stages by decades is widely practiced in the historiography of the Russian revolutionary movement. However, it seems appropriate to lengthen the decade of the 1870s by considering the last years of the 1860s and the first years of the 1880s together with it. Dates are cited according to the Julian calendar (old style).

2 For the general tenets and history of the Russian revolutionary movement, see Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (London, 1960).

3 S. S. Volk, ed., *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-ikh godov XIX veka,* vol. 2: *1876–1882* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), p. 189.

*volia*" in November 1880, and the same idea was expressed by others. Yet the workers did have importance, partly because of their continuing connections with the land, which could be used to transmit revolutionary ideas to the peasantry. In the 1870s, several attempts to organize urban workers were made by the intelligentsia or by the workers themselves. Efforts at labor organization were more visible and more comprehensive in the second half of the decade, when they assumed two forms: societies similar to trade unions, and sections affiliated with general revolutionary organizations.[5]

The Southern-Russian Workers' Union[6] (*Iuzhno-russkii rabochii soiuz*) is of special interest.[7] Franco Venturi, author of the standard work on the history of populism in Russia, rightly describes it as "the greatest venture in working class organization in South Russia during the seventies."[8] Probably the statement can equitably be extended to include, chronologically, the 1880s and, geographically, other regions of the Russian Empire (apparently excepting the Kingdom of Poland).

[4] Cf. Volk, *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo,* 2: 349 (doc. 86).

[5] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution,* pp. 507–557.

[6] This English version of the union's name is the one I favor over Venturi's "Workers' Union of South Russia."

[7] The first history of the union, interspersed with personal memoirs, was by one of its founders, Elizaveta Koval'skaia (née Solentsova). It was published in V. V. Maksakov and V. I. Nevskii, eds., *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy* (Moscow, 1924). Two years later it was republished separately in essentially the same form: E. Koval'skaia, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy* (Moscow, 1926). Hereafter these publications will be cited as Koval'skaia 1924 and 1926, respectively.

A general history of the working class movement in the Ukraine was published by M. Balabanov, *K istorii rabochego dvizheniia na Ukraine* (Kiev, 1925). No other studies of the union have been published in the Soviet Union. Soviet historiographers tend to downgrade the union's importance, mainly because of its non-proletarian point of view, and to ignore the role of the nationalities problem in its history and development. See V. S. Zhuchenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichna prohrama revoliutsiinoho narodnytstva na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1969), p. 143; and A. K. Voloshenko, *Narysy z istorii suspil'no-politychnoho rukhu na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1974), pp. 90–100.

A concise outline of the history of the union can be found in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution,* pp. 518–24. Unfortunately, Koval'skaia's name was omitted in the index to the English edition, but not in the original Italian one. Some factual errors in that work will be noted below.

[8] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution,* p. 523. See also V. Nevskii, *Ot "Zemli i voli" k grupe "Osvobozhdenie truda"* (Moscow, 1930), pp. 177–78. For information about *Narodnaia volia* circles in Kiev, see the memoirs of A. Bychkov, "Delo o revoliutsionnykh kruzhakh 1879–1881 v Kieve," in *Letopis revoliutsii,* 1924, no. 2, pp. 39–62, and no. 3, pp. 161–74; "Narodovol'cheskie organizatsii v Kieve s oseni 1880 g. po aprel 1883 g.," in *Narodovol'tsy posle pervogo marta 1881 g.,* ed. A. V. Iakimova-Dikovskaia (Moscow, 1928), p. 168.

Besides its intrinsic importance, the union's history has bearing on another topic, namely, the overall attitude of the nineteenth-century revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire toward Jews and Jewish problems.

Kiev, where the Southern-Russian Workers' Union was founded and which remained its main arena of activity, harbored all kinds of ideological persuasions and shades of radical involvement in the last third of the nineteenth century. It was a center of revolutionary activity not only locally, but also for the Ukraine and the whole empire,[9] and for the Russian revolutionary movement proper. Most striking was Kiev's role in the differentiated evolution of Ukrainian intellectual life and political thought. It brought together the outstanding Ukrainian radicals and socialists of the 1870s, among them Mykhailo Drahomanov and Serhii Podolyns'kyi, both of whom held and expressed opinions and attitudes about Jews and Jewish problems. Indeed, Drahomanov was apparently the first radical political thinker to try to formulate a comprehensive view of the Jewish question in the empire and particularly in the Ukraine.

In Kiev, the participation of individual Jews in revolutionary organizations was important. Noteworthy were Pavel Akselrod, a populist during the 1870s who became a pioneer of social democracy, as well as G. Gurevich, L. Deich, the Levental brothers, and S. Lourie. Aron Lieberman, who after leaving Vilnius for London and Vienna (1876–78) became a pioneer of Jewish socialism and of the Jewish labor movement, attracted some adherents in Kiev. In Vienna Lieberman established contact with Ostap Terlets'kyi, the central figure in the Ukrainian socialist student organization, Sich; he corresponded with Drahomanov and maintained connections in Kiev.[10]

The city was inhabited by Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, and other nationalities. Although it was out of the Pale of Settlement for Jews,

[9] It is perhaps indicative that Kiev was second only to St. Petersburg in the reports of the *New York Times* about the "nihilist" movement in the Russian Empire during the late 1870s and early 1880s.

[10] On the central role of Kiev at the beginnings of Ukrainian socialism, see M. Tkachenko, "M. I. Ziber u Kyivi, 1864–1876," in *Iuvileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu akademika M. S. Hrushevs'koho,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1928), pp. 349–58. The course of Jewish-Ukrainian socialist contacts can be traced in Drahomanov's attitudes towards Jewish problems, especially his advocacy of Jewish autonomy in a federal system and of a Jewish socialist organization. The Hebrew writer Y. L. Levin ("Jehalel") of Kiev reported about some contacts in Kiev; see his *Zikhronot ve-hegyonot* (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 65.

during the general nineteenth-century Jewish migration from the northwestern region southwards (which was spurred by the accelerated economic development of the Ukraine), a sizeable Jewish community grew up in Kiev, notwithstanding restrictive laws, expulsions, and administrative persecution.

Problems between nationalities were reflected not only in the composition of the socialist-revolutionary organization, but also by differences in matters of principle. One issue was the question of whether organizational uniformity or multiformity was to prevail. Such revolutionaries as the Ukrainians V. Debohorii-Mokriievych and Iakiv Stefanovych, and his intimate friend, the Jew Lev Deich, had the cosmopolitan view that separate organizational forms, not to say specific aims, were superfluous for the different national groups inhabiting the empire (again excluding Poland). Another important issue was the interrelationships between the different nationalities in general and Jew-baiting or Judophobia[11] in particular. Early in the 1870s the problem had already been debated in Kievan revolutionary circles by members of the so-called Kievan Commune and by the *buntari* (rebels).

Within the city, as well as beyond it, adherents of the different radical camps shared views and experiences and then transmitted them to others. The mix of nationalities affected the programs of various political groups. The ideological milieu in Kiev was known for its unorthodoxy. For instance, the local branches of such organizations as *Narodnaia volia* and *Chernyi peredel* and their respective circles of sympathizers sometimes held their own dissenting views about certain matters.

The history of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union reflects these developments. The organization was founded by Elizaveta Koval'skaia and Nikolai Shchedrin in the spring of 1880.[12] From Kiev the union expanded to the nearby countryside and to the cities of Rostov, Kremenchuh, Odessa, Mykolaiv, and Katerynoslav (Dnipropetrovs'k). The activities of union members among the arsenal and

[11] "Judophobia" (or the brash "Zhidophobia") was current as a Russian synonym for "anti-semitism." The latter term was coined, as is well known, in Germany in 1879, but, of course, the phenomenon has had a long history.

[12] Koval'skaia circumstantially indicates April; Balabanov says it was May (*K istorii,* pp. 75–76), which seems more accurate.

railroad workers in Kiev and elsewhere are mentioned in police and other government documents.

The two founders of the union came to Kiev from St. Petersburg. Koval'skaia was an experienced underground activist, and the younger Shchedrin was an enthusiast engaged in clandestine populist work from 1876. Together with the Ukrainian Pavlo Ivaniv, a student at Kiev University who was expelled after the student riots of 1878,[13] they formed the nucleus of the organization. Ivaniv was an ardent populist and a Ukrainophile.[14] His connections abroad were instrumental in the union's acquisition of a printing press originally intended for some Ukrainian circles in the city. Other activists in the union were the sisters Sofiia Bohomolets' and Mariia Prysets'ka, I. M. Kashyntsev, and Oleksii Preobrazhens'kyi.[15] Prominent among Jewish members was Nakhum Hecker (or Gecker), a newcomer to Kiev who was very active among factory workers during the last period of the union's existence.[16]

The relatively brief history of the union can be divided into three unequal stages, with the second and third demarcated by arrests: on 24 October 1880 — Koval'skaia and Shchedrin; on 4 January 1881 — Kashyntsev, Preobrazhens'kyi and others. The union was liquidated at the end of April 1881, with the arrest of Ivaniv and the seizure of the press. These events concurred, not accidentally, with the anti-Jewish pogrom in Kiev. The first two imprisonments caused not only changes in the leadership of the union, but also some redirection of its goals.

Koval'skaia and Shchedrin, while still in St. Petersburg, were in-

[13] The description of Ivaniv's relationship to the union as only "a close one" (*Revolutsionnoe narodnichestvo,* 2:450) is an obvious understatement. Perhaps it was based on Koval'skaia's casual note published in the article of L. Berman, "Kievskii protsess 21-kh v 1880 g.," *Katorga i ssylka* (hereafter *Kis*), 8–9 (1931): 90, fn. 1. But Koval'skaia's memoirs and the documentary evidence tell a different story.

[14] Koval'skaia, 1926, p. 48; *Iuzhno-russkie rabochie soiuzy: Sbornik statei,* ed. M. Ravich-Cherkaskii (Kharkiv, 1925), p. 13.

[15] Venturi (*Roots of Revolution,* p. 803, fn. 31) mistook him for his namesake, Hryhorii Preobrazhens'kyi, another revolutionary.

[16] Hecker's memoirs, *Nasha iunost',* were published in 1913 and republished in Ravich-Cherkaskii, *Iuzhno-russkie rabochie soiuzy,* pp. 131–43. He also wrote about an earlier period in his life: "Revoliutsionnye kruzhki v Beredianske," *Kis* 11 (1924): 100–110. Neither work gives much information about his Jewish background.

volved in the ominous strife within the Russian revolutionary movement that culminated in 1879. The populist *Zemlia i volia* had split into two new organizations, *Chernyi peredel*[17] and *Narodnaia volia.* The first, as the name *Chernyi peredel* implies, adhered to the old concepts of the *narodniki* — agrarian socialism coupled with anarchistic or semi-anarchistic attitudes in political matters. *Narodnaia volia,* which attracted the majority of active revolutionaries, was addicted to political terror, above all regicide, as a means for eventual seizure of state power. The goal of its terrorist acts was to win a constitution. Social revolution, if considered at all, was regarded as a possibility after radical political change.[18]

Koval'skaia and Shchedrin sided with *Chernyi peredel.* They were affiliated with the organization in St. Petersburg when Pavel Akselrod came to the capital and reorganized it under the old name, *Zemlia i volia.* But Akselrod also redefined its program, in a way that Koval'skaia and Shchedrin regarded as a deviation from true populism.[19] They rejected what they considered to be a revaluation with a bent toward German social democracy.

Koval'skaia and Shchedrin, as orthodox *narodniki,* rejected the political terror advocated by *Narodnaia volia,* not because they objected to terror per se, but rather because of their fundamental opposition to its objectives, constitutionalism and political democracy, which they regarded as obstacles to social revolution. Instead, they preached use of terror against landowners, factory owners and managers, and their "henchmen," including some government officials. Both left St. Petersburg and the renamed *Chernyi peredel* organization. The Southern-Russian Workers' Union was founded shortly after their arrival in Kiev in April 1880.

During its existence the union attracted about 700 members of differing conviction, attachment, and activity.[20] Some old local *narod-*

[17] The term was previously translated into English as "Black Division." Now it is generally rendered as "Black Repartition," for the name allegedly had the original meaning of the *chornozem.* It was considered to be a watchword arising from the masses of the peasantry. Drahomanov, who had a propensity for etymology, pointed out that in that context *chornyi* came from *chern',* meaning "populace." But there are also other explanations.

[18] This is, of course, only a sketchy outline of the attitudes of the two organizations, provided as orientation for the topic at hand.

[19] One pertinent aspect of this strife will be noted below.

[20] A. M. Pankratova, ed., *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v XIX veke: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov,* vol. 2: *1861–1884,* pt. 2: *1875–1884* (Moscow, 1950), p. 427, fn. 1, says that about 1,000 workers were involved in the agitational and propagandistic work of the union. Cf. Balabanov, *K istorii,* p. 77.

*niki* joined the union at its founding, and connections were maintained with member of *Narodnaia volia* in Kiev. Duplicated written materials found by the police when the union was liquidated included programmatic statements by other populist groups in the Ukraine. All this testifies to the cross influences and exchange of views between the union and other elements in the revolutionary camp. A short time after the union was founded, a printing press was installed and propaganda began to be published.

The interrelations between workers of different nationalities and religions very soon emerged as a basic internal problem of the union. Apparently it was not so much theoretical or tactical as organizational and psychological matters that were involved, although all these elements were inexorably intertwined.

In the history of the revolutionary movement, the name of an organization very often had considerable significance for the founders and members alike. *Zemlia i volia, Chernyi peredel, Narodnaia volia,* all catchwords, became part of the ritual terminology of the movement and its subsequent tradition. "Southern-Russian Workers' Union" sounds prosaic, yet the naming came not without difficulty.

Koval'skaia relates that initially the union was to have been called "Southern" alone, to indicate its regional character. But some workers found that unacceptable. The word "Russian" was added at the demand of some workers, apparently to satisfy national consciousness or pride.[21] But, Koval'skaia says, "Southern Russian" did not reflect the actual multinational composition of the union. The majority of members were Ukrainians, but there were also Russians, Poles, Jews, and others. It seems that the combined adjective "Southern-Russian" was explained differently by various groups. Some Ukrainian circles — populist and socialist — contended that it was only a geographical description and that it blurred the Ukrainian character of the region. Drahomanov soon reiterated that argument. Having found no information about the program and activity of the union, he argued that its very name revealed a conceptual and theoretical flaw, for it was "colorless-geographic" and not "clearly national," that is, Ukrainian.[22]

[21] Koval'skaia, 1926, pp. 24–25. She implies that the workers involved at that time were Russians. Actually the captions of the leaflets issued by the union generally omitted the word "Russian," although it did appear with the name of the printing press. See the list of proclamations and the facsimiles in Balabanov, *K istorii,* docs 1, 80a, 96a. 128a.

[22] M. P. Drahomanov, *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), pp. 239–40 (from the long essay "Istoricheskaia Pol'sha i velikorusskaia demo-

The argument paralleled Drahomanov's widely known criticism of the contemporary administrative label of the Ukraine as the southwestern region of the Russian Empire.

Among the workers in Kiev, recalls Koval'skaia, a sharp Judophobia was current. The accession of the first Jew to the union evoked confusion and then cold hatred among its rank and file members. One of them protested against the admittance of Jews, contending that "they murdered Jesus." The protestor was astonished when Koval'skaia told him that Jesus himself was a Jew, and was reassured only after his friend, a clergyman, corroborated that fact. In any case the intolerant atmosphere allegedly subsided and disappeared. Koval'skaia attributes that to the purposeful reeducation of the union members on religious and national superstitions, especially against strong Judophobia. According to Koval'skaia, these efforts bore fruit during the pogrom in Kiev in the spring of 1881, which will be discussed below.[23] But Koval'skaia's memoirs were written, for the most part,[24] forty years and more after these events occurred. Some contemporary documentary evidence presents a less rosy and more complex and ambivalent picture of the situation.

After the union was disbanded, its historical records lay in oblivion for decades. They were brought to light again only at the beginning of this century. Its founders and activists had experienced the martyrdom typical of radical opponents of tsarist autocracy. Only two were still alive: Koval'skaia, who was freed in 1900 after more than twenty years of imprisonment, hard labor, and exile and very soon joined the Social-Revolutionaries (S-R's); and Nakhum Hecker, who came out of his ordeals severely crippled for life.[25]

In 1904 the Russian periodical dedicated to the history of the revolutionary movement, *Byloe,* edited by Vladimir Burtsev, pub-

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kratiia," originally published in 1881). It seems likely that the union was named so as to distinguish it from the "Iuzhno-rossiiskii soiuz rabochikh," which was founded in Odessa in 1875.

[23] Venturi cites the relevant passage from Koval'skaia's memoirs without comment; *Roots of Revolution,* p. 520.

[24] In 1904 Koval'skaia recalled, in brief, the reaction within the union to the 1881 pogrom (see fn. 26, below), but did not place it in the context of the union's educational work, which reportedly took place later.

[25] Venturi (*Roots of Revolution,* p. 523) knew of only one survivor — Koval'skaia. She joined the S-R Maximalists who, together with some anarchist factions, continued in the union tradition, after a fashion.

lished a translation[26] of an article on the union that had appeared in a French periodical in 1882.[27] Written by the journalist E. Molinari, the article contained excerpts from the union's original documents. The Russian translation of the article, as well as the retranslation of the excerpts from the documents, was prefaced by an editorial note and a concise reminiscence[28] about the union by Koval'skaia.

The handwritten program of the union cited by Molinari was written in a populist spirit. It maintained that political rights would have no importance unless the economic system was altered, for a constitutional government alone would probably work to the advantage of the bourgeoisie rather than the common people. The authors' frame of mind was reflected in their recommendations for achieving the ultimate goal — social revolution — as well as the more immediate demands of the workers and peasants. These were: (1) agrarian terror by the peasants — seizure of lands, arson, assassination of wealthy landowners; (2) factory terror by the workers — setting on fire factories and workshops, killing of directors and owners; (3) military terror — instigating soldiers against officers, killing harsh commanders, fomenting sedition in the army; (4) political terror — disorganization of the government by any means, in order to compromise its authority with the people and incite them against its officials and the police.

A comparison of Molinari's French original and the article's translation in *Byloe* reveals that the last paragraph of the original was cut from the Russian version. In Molinari's text the fourth demand, on political terror, concludes: "to exploit the hatred of the population against the Jews and the Poles in order to inflame quarrels which will bring about disorders, and, finally, to foster revolutionary outbursts." This omission is, of course, of interest to us here. The passage must have been deleted intentionally by *Byloe*'s editor, Burtsev.

At the time, no faction in the already widespread and differentiated

[26] "Iuzhno-russkii rabochii soiuz v 1880–1881 gg.," in *Byloe* (London), no. 2 (1903–1904), pp. 150–161 (reprinted Rostov, 1906).
[27] Edmond de Molinari, "Le movement anarchist en France et l'Union Ouvrière Nihilist du Midi de la Russie," *Journal des Economistes*, 1882, no. 11, pp. 176–188. The editor of *Byloe* assumed that Molinari had obtained the documents from "some knowledgeable people." Koval'skaia afterwards remarked (1926, p. 197) that he must have received them from someone who, although in contact with members of the union, was not well informed; see below, fns. 29 and 31.
[28] Koval'skaia referred to conversations she remembered having with members of the union, notably with Pavlo Ivaniv, whom she met in prison and in exile shortly after the destruction of the union.

revolutionary movement was ready to accept the tactic of mongering national strife. Also, after the anti-Jewish pogroms in Kishinev and Homel in 1903, which signaled the second wave of pogroms in Russia (1905–1906), it was inopportune to stipulate such a tactic, especially to the S-R's, members of the party most attached to the traditions of Russian populism.

The intent of the omitted clause was unmistakable. It recommended and instructed manipulation of national antagonisms for revolutionary purposes. What is especially remarkable is the directive not only to make capital of spontaneous ethnic upheavals, but also to initiate them. In 1904 Koval'skaia essentially confirmed the veracity of Molinari's excerpts from the union's documents ("our" program, in her words), which the police seized upon her arrest.[29] She kept silent about the omitted text, however. In the 1920s what Koval'skaia called the "draft first program" of the union, which she and Shchedrin wrote, was taken from the police archives and published. It contained no such paragraph. Koval'skaia said,[30] however, that the elaborated program actually printed on the union's press was not found in the archives. We cannot ascertain the contents of the lost program, nor compare it with the one used by Molinari.[31] It is also possible that what Koval'skaia called "first draft" was followed by a second one that fell into Molinari's hands. In any case, it is impossible to determine the measure of Koval'skaia's and Shchedrin's personal responsibility for the recommendation that national animosities be used for revolutionary ends. What is certain is that some leaders of the union held to such an attitude and that for a time, albeit a short one, it was representative of the union as a whole.[32]

[29] Her only reservation, which is somewhat obscure, came after a reference to Molinari's "bourgeois hatred for our program": she maintained that in translating "pure Russian expressions, he [Molinari] somewhat changes their *character*, rendering the style of our literature in an intentionally vulgar tone." See below, fn. 31, and also L. Kulczycki, *Rewolucja rosyjska*, pt. 2 (Lviv, 1911), pp. 386–87.

[30] Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy*, p. 259.

[31] Koval'skaia (1926, p. 197) corrected several details in Molinari's article, without refuting his documentary evidence and while ignoring the last paragraph discussed here. The length of the program she cited was identical to that described in the bill of indictment against the members of the union (Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy*, pp. 291–93), but reference to making use of national animosities was totally absent.

[32] Debates about the program were continually on the union's agenda. Koval'skaia (1926, p. 24) reported that discussions with workers about the program were held just before the organization was founded.

The formulators of the union's program threw hatred for Jews and Poles into one basket. Both ethnic groups figured in the geo-historical situation of the Ukraine in the latter half of the nineteenth century. But the galvanizing of anti-minority sentiments into disorders to foster "revolutionary outbursts" was then actually undertaken only in respect to the Jewish people. The passage was included under "political terror," not economic terror. Therefore one cannot ascribe the recommendation to the notion current in the 1870s among Russian *narodniki* and Ukrainian socialists, as well as among pro-government Judophobes, that Jew-baiting was justified by "Jewish exploitation." On the other hand, there is no indication that fostering "disorders" out of the popular hatred of Jews (or Poles) was regarded as a good end in itself, rather than as a useful revolutionary tactic.

The idea of fomenting revolution through nationalistic disorders did not occur in Kiev alone. It resounded at discussions in meetings of the *Chernyi peredel* in St. Petersburg at the end of 1879. Koval'skaia and Shchedrin took part in them, for the discussions were closely tied to Akselrod's attempt to reformulate the organization's program and to rename it accordingly. All *Chernyi peredel* members agreed that revolutionary activity had to spring from the "people." But at the time Akselrod opposed reliance on the people's alleged socialist ideals and aspirations, although it came from a Bakuninist tradition which Akselrod himself long followed. He recalled questions he had posed during one of the organization's internal discussions in St. Petersburg: ". . . what if the people want to beat the Jews (*zhidov*)? What if the people want to prevent by force the separation of Poland from Russia?"[33] Jews and Poles were grouped together, as in the program of the union, but here with more realistic discernment of the animosities against the two nationalities, respectively. By 1878 Akselrod had already departed somewhat from pure populism.[34] He maintained a discriminating outlook toward "local popular movements,"[35] a notion mentioned in his memoirs and corroborated by a contemporary programmatic document which he himself[36] probably wrote during efforts to organize workers in the Ukraine.[37] In it Akselrod contended that it was obliga-

[33] *Iz arkhiva P. B. Aksel'roda, 1881–1896* (Berlin, 1924), p. 343. Hereafter cited as Akselrod.
[34] Venturi, *Roots of Revolution,* pp. 624–25.
[35] Volk, *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo,* 2:145–46, 167.
[36] Volk, *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo,* 2:347–48, 388–89 (fn. 169).
[37] Mainly it concerned Odessa. There is confusion in the historiography about

tory for a workers' union to propagate the removal "from the people's consciousness of all superstitions which interfere with the fraternal and equal union of people of different professions, sexes, and religions." Even more conspicuously it demanded equal rights for all minorities of the empire and freedom of expression for peoples of all confessions and opinions.

This position was lacking in the draft first program of the union, as well as in the so-called second program adopted later, after the arrest of Koval'skaia and Shchedrin.[38] Quite the contrary, the draft program cited by Molinari proposed exploitation of national hatred for revolutionary aims. Was that because the program's authors espoused the Bakuninist formula that revolutionaries must proceed on the basis of the people's "aspirations" or "demands," which had already been contradicted by Akselrod? Perhaps there was also another explanation. Koval'skaia and, in particular, Shchedrin were already free from the idealization of the "people" that was current in the 1870s, but they remained convinced that popular revolution was close at hand. They were very eager to keep pace with historical events and to accelerate their development. Their attitudes, or those of their associates, seemed to follow Nechaev's infamous maxim that the ends justify the means. That notion was evident in the actions recommended by the union's program, that is, terror, arson, and assassination. Later, extreme moral relativism would color the pro-pogrom attitude taken by *Narodnaia volia* in 1881–1883.

All this does not mean, of course, that Koval'skaia's subsequent account of these times was wholly untrue. It is likely that when frictions based on religious and ethnic biases occurred within the multinational membership of the union, its leaders tried to alleviate them. Corroborating evidence is provided by a handwritten document found among the materials confiscated by the police when Koval'skaia was arrested. While not totally discarding the general premise about

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Akselrod's role as an alleged founder of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union in Kiev. Venturi supported the notion (*Roots of Revolution,* p. 518), ignoring Koval'skaia's repeated and convincing denial of Akselrod's involvement; see E. Koval'skaia, "O proiskhozhdenii iuzhno-russkikh rabochikh soiuzov," *Kis* 25 (1926): 47–48; idem, "Neobkhodymye popravki," *Kis* 27 (1926): 266–68. Compare also Voloshenko, *Narysy,* pp. 90–96; Kulczycki, *Rewolucja rosyjska,* pp. 381–84.

[38] The program adopted was described as the "second" in the bill of indictment against the union's members.

ends and means, it shows a different approach to national problems. The document declares: "Socialism will take up the defense of the Ukrainophiles, Poles, Jews, the native sectarians, and with their help will pull down the rotten pillars of the Russian (or as many would desire) all-Slavic monarchy."[39]

Confusion and inconstancy existed about many other matters, as well as about the Jews. In fact, throughout the union's existence, various points of view and tendencies clashed. In the first phase, activity among the urban workers was considered to be of greatest importance. After the arrest of Koval'skaia and Shchedrin, the focus of the union's efforts gradually shifted. Although activity among the workers continued under the guidance of N. Hecker, and not without some success, emphasis shifted to propaganda rather than industrial or factory terror. The major change, however, was in the union's general orientation, which now focused on the peasantry. This change also had programmatic repercussions. While the original program and the one used by Molinari listed factory terror first, the union's second program[40] gave as its first point organizational work in the countryside.

The union hastily began a propaganda campaign among the Ukrainian peasants. Members of the union intervened in disputes between large landowners and peasants intent on resorting to agrarian terror. The most outspoken proponent of agrarian activity was Pavlo Ivaniv, who, after the second arrest of union leaders, was the only one of the original leaders to remain at liberty. The new orientation gave the union a more Ukrainian character, for instance, its leaflets addressing the peasants were in Ukrainian. Also, Ivaniv was known as a Ukrainophile even before joining the union. He was committed to agrarian terror before the union was founded, and sought to implement such action as early as the second half of 1879.[41] After joining the union he merely continued this line of activity.

The Ukrainian leaflets[42] issued by the union concerned a conflict

[39] Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* pp. 293–94.

[40] Most probably General Kutaisov (below, fn. 50) had this program in mind when he refuted the allegation that the union instigated the pogrom in Kiev. Cf. fn. 53 below.

[41] See Ivaniv's letter to M. R. Popov, then the head of a group of adherents to *Chernyi peredel* and *Narodnaia volia*; Volk, *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo,* 2:161–63. Like Koval'skaia and Shchedrin, Ivaniv was inspired by the Irish peasant movement.

[42] Koval'skaia (1924, p. 243) reported that a political leaflet in Ukrainian was issued on 4 March 1881 upon the assassination of Aleksander II.

between copyholders (*chynshovyky*) and landlords on use of land, payments, and so on. One leaflet, dated 30 January 1881 and addressed to the tenants, is of particular interest here.[43] It concludes with several proposals for action, of which the second reads: "Villages should organize secret councils through faithful people — in order to know from one another what is going where, things the *pan*s [landlords] and the Jews are plotting together, and the tricks they are to take part in." The fifth reads: "Everywhere it is possible secretly to settle matters with an obstinate *pan,* or a Jew, a policeman-grafter, or a bribed witness — to do it even without any assistance from the Secret Fraternity."[44]

The clearly anti-Jewish bias of the leaflet was acknowledged by Koval'skaia.[45] Twice it mentions Jews in a general way, grouping them alongside the *pan*s and other adversaries of the peasants who deserve punishment. No distinction is made between rich and poor Jewish inhabitants of the villages, nor are Jews classified as innkeepers, leaseholders, or shopkeepers. The fifth point, cited above, points out the wrongdoings of certain types of people in order to justify taking severe measures against them. But this was not so in respect to the Jews. Although in Ukrainian *zhyd* means simply "Jew," in the context of the leaflet I believe it had the stereotyped derogatory meaning of its Russian counterpart, that is, *zhid,* or the Jew exploiter. The connotation was not the invention of the revolutionary *narodniki,* but rather of their adversaries. Nevertheless, many *narodniki* accepted and used it.

Who wrote the leaflet? The author must have been the actual leader of the union at the time, Pavlo Ivaniv, ardent and impulsive champion of revolutionary agitation and terrorist tactics among the peasants. The "Secret Fraternity Land and Freedom" was, of course, a fake[46] invented by Ivaniv who, sincere as he was, naively liked gestures calculated for effect, especially among the villagers.[47] His attitude

[43] Koval'skaia, 1924, pp. 280–81.

[44] All the Ukrainian leaflets were signed the "Southern-Russian Free Press" and were sealed "Stamp of the Land and Freedom Secret Fraternity (*Zemlia i volia bratstvo*)." See below, fns. 46, 47.

[45] Koval'skaia, 1926, pp. 71–72; and below, fn. 47.

[46] See his letter to M. R. Popov (referred to in fn. 41 above), and his characterization by N. Hecker (fn. 16, above). This is not to say that Ivaniv had no plans for such a "fraternity." The police seized two copies of an outline for a periodical to be called *Bratstvo* ("fraternity"), which may have been linked to such a plan. Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* p. 308.

[47] Koval'skaia (1926, pp. 71–72), noting the anti-Jewish tone of the document,

toward the Jews may also have been influenced by the outspokenly anti-Jewish brochures of Podolyns'kyi, found at his home when it was searched by the police in 1878.[48]

The second program of the union, drafted before the arrests at the beginning of January 1881, does not mention Jews among the social groups inimical to the people that should be targets of agrarian terror.[49] Also, there is no evidence that the union, which tried to organize protests against the large landowners, was involved in any actions against Jews at the time. Nevertheless, the leaflet of January 30 aggravated an intensely anti-Jewish atmosphere. Over the next three months it would explode in a wave of pogroms that fanned out from the large cities and swept through whole districts of the countryside.

A pogrom took place in Kiev on 26 and 27 April 1881, almost two weeks after the first pogrom broke out in Ielysavethrad (Kirovohrad). The Kiev pogrom was the worst of that year, and from Kiev it spread throughout the gubernia.[50] The last act of the union was closely related

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tried to exculpate Ivaniv. Forty years later, recalling a conversation they had on the way to sentences at hard labor, she implied that not Ivaniv, but one "pan" (Piotrovskii), an agent-provocateur, wrote the leaflet. Her story is not very convincing. Hecker writes that at that time all the union's leaflets were written by Ivaniv. Koval'skaia contended that there was no evidence that a "fraternity" existed at all. In fact, the name *Zemlia i volia* was used *ad hoc,* in another leaflet addressed to the peasants (fn. 44, above). All the leaflets bore the name of the union's printing press. Ivaniv indicated that course of action already in his letter to Popov (fn. 41). Piotrovskii, who knew Ivaniv well, took part in the action Ivaniv planned, but was not a member of the union; see Balabanov, *K istorii,* pp. 101–103, and R. Kantor, "Razgrom Iuzhnorusskogo rabochego soiuza 1880–1881 gg.," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 30 (1928): 211. It seems improbable that he had access to the clandestine press. Koval'skaia herself said (1924, p. 211) that Piotrovskii was suspected of being a traitor. Even the incautious Ivaniv must have considered that possibility. Had Piotrovskii written and printed the leaflet, he would not have left copies by the printing press where they could easily be found by the leaders of the union. Koval'skaia herself said (1924, p. 217) that some of the leaflet's agrarian proposals and postulates were in constant flux, and a man like Ivaniv would not be too concerned with current details, but rather with action.

48 Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* p. 335. Zhuchenko, in referring to the leaflet of 31 January 1881 (*Sotsialno-ekonomichna prohrama,* p. 143), abstained from mentioning the Jews.

49 Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* pp. 265–68: cf. the outlined program of another revolutionary organization, ibid., p. 306.

50 S. Dubnov, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1918), pp. 251–56. Much related documentary material on the pogrom in Kiev appears in G. I. Krasnyi-Admoni, *Materialy dlia istorii antievreiskikh pogromov v Rossii,* vol. 2 (Petrograd and Moscow, 1923), including the report of General

to the pogrom.[51] On April 27, it spoke out in a tone quite different from any appeal made to the peasant copyholders, in a leaflet written in Russian:

> Братья рабочие. Бьете вы жидов, да не разбираючи. Не за то надо битъ жида, что он жид и по своему богу молится, бог ведь для всех один, а за то его надо бить, что он грабит народ, что он кровь сосет из рабочего человека. Судя по совести, иной наш купец али фабрикант хуже жида грабит и разоряет рабочего, высасывает из него последние соки и сколачивает себе капитал, да растит свое брюхо толстое. Так неужели же такого кровопийцу оставлять в покое, а жида иного, который, может, не легче нашего добывает насущный хлеб тяжким трудом, ремеслом каким али черною работой — ужли и его грабить? Рабочего беднягу, хоч бы он был и татарин, грех обижать. Если уж бить, так бить зауряд всякого кулака-грабителя, что из нашего пота-крови капитал себе наживает, бить всякое начальство, что грабителей наших зашищает, что стреляет в народ за какого-нибудь подлого миллионщика Бродского и убивает невинных. Так вот они новые порядки. Постоим же, братцы, дружней за свое правое дело.

Brother workers. You are beating the Jews (*zhidov*), but indiscriminately. One should not beat the Jew (*zhid*) because he is a Jew and prays to God in his own way — indeed, God is one and the same to all — rather, one should beat him because he is robbing the people, he is sucking the blood of the working man. To speak honestly, any merchant or factory owner of our own, more badly than the Jew, robs and ruins the worker, sucks him dry, piles up capital for himself, indeed, becomes big-bellied. Then should such a bloodsucker be left in peace, while anyone who is a Jew, who perhaps earns his daily bread no more easily than one of our own, at hard work, some trade, or unskilled labor — now, then, is he to be robbed, too? It is a sin to hurt a poor worker, even if he be a Tartar. If we are to beat, then let us beat at the same time every kulak-robber who is making capital from our sweat and blood — beat all the authorities who defend those who rob us, who shoot among the people because of some villainous millionaire Brodskii,[52] and

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Kutaisov, who had been ordered to make an inquiry into the pogroms and their causes. Kutaisov's report referred to the union several times. Additional material and analysis, especially about Kiev, is included in V. P. Rybyns'kyi, "Protyievreis'kyi rukh r. 1881–ho na Ukraini," in *Zbirnyk prats' Zhydivs'koi istorychno-arkheohrafichnoi komisii* (Kiev), bk. 2, 1929, pp. 139–71. See also the bibliography in Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets* (New York and London, 1964), p. 359, fn. 1.

51 Venturi (*Roots of Revolution*, p. 523) erroneously depicts an earlier action as the union's last. In *Istoriia Kyieva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1963), pp. 383–84, more than one-third of the union's existence is wholly ignored.

52 A Jewish family of capitalists living in Kiev, eminent especially in the sugar industry.

kill innocent people. This is the new state of affairs. Let us, brethren, stand up more staunchly for our just cause.[53]

The author of the leaflet was undoubtedly Pavlo Ivaniv, as verified by evidence from police sources and noted in Koval'skaia's recollections.[54]

One can analyze and evaluate the union's last leaflet from several standpoints: its reverberations not only in Russia but abroad; its immediate impact on the course of events and their aftermath; its attitude toward the ongoing pogrom as well as on other aspects of Jewish life; the contrast between the opinions expressed there and the attitudes of other factions in the revolutionary camp; a comparison of its statements with the stand the union itself had taken on Jewish problems previously.

As yet, we do not know of any revolutionary document which directly influenced the pogroms. The proclamation of the union as expressed in its leaflet represents the first reaction to the pogroms by a revolutionary organization whose history, program, and composition we know quite well.[55] It stands alone as an official response by a revolutionary group which was directly involved in the occurrence of the pogrom. Its pronouncements were reflected in the opinions of government officials on the causes of the pogroms and the motives of their perpetrators, and had some effect on immediate official conduct

[53] First to republish the leaflet was Krasnyi-Admoni (*Materialy,* p. 225), who took it from the archives of the police department. That is the source used here (orthography has been modernized). Afterwards, in the 1920s, it was reprinted repeatedly, usually with the irrelevant omission of the word *pravoe* ("just") from the last sentence.

On 30 May 1881, the *New York Times,* based on correspondence from Paris, ascribed the initiating role in the pogrom to the "conspirators" of the union (referred to as the "League of the Southern Working Men"). On 31 July 1881, it carried a contradictory report from another source. The latter stated that "Nihilists took no part in the disorder," citing the union's appeal of April 27 and commenting on it. The item concluded: "It will be seen that it is based on Communism and that the Jews are informed, that it is not as Jews but as capitalists that they are hated, which may be a great consolation for the poor members of their community."

[54] Krasnyi-Admoni, *Materialy,* p. 415; *Byloe,* 1904, no. 6, p. 153; Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* pp. 209, 245; Koval'skaia, 1926, pp. 26, 85. Detained and indicted, Ivaniv denied his authorship of the appeal. But when the police also seized the manuscript, Ivaniv admitted that he had printed it and defended its content. Balabanov, *K istorii,* pp. 109, 111, 113.

[55] A document published in Krasnyi-Admoni, *Materialy,* p. 270, mentions an anonymous note on a scrap of paper about the pogrom in Ielysavethrad that occurred on 15 April 1881.

as well as on later inquiries.[56] Just after the leaflet had been printed, on the night of April 27, the police, informed by an agent-provocateur, confiscated 124 copies.[57] They feared that its circulation would widen the scope of the disorders[58] and change their character. Moreover, no revolutionary publication touching on the pogroms had such repercussions in the Jewish press — Russian and Hebrew — as did the union's leaflet.[59]

The proclamation of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union, addressed to "Brother workers," spoke directly to the perpetrators of the pogrom.[60] The appeal was made in the midst of the excesses with the intent of influencing actual events, and it was obviously agitational in nature. Nevertheless, one can infer some of the principles which guided its author. Bakunin and some other populists of the 1870s thought that the Jews constituted an exploitative group. Serhii Podolyns'kyi, author of the Ukrainian socialist brochures, regarded "Zhidophobia" as a socialist and revolutionary commandment.[61] This attitude had been evident in the leaflet the union issued to copyholders on 30 January 1881.

The union's appeal during the pogrom in Kiev was quite different. It made a clear distinction between different social groups within the

[56] See Kutaisov's report (cited in fns. 50, 60); and Koval'skaia, 1924, p. 249. The police reports exaggerated the story somewhat to demonstrate their own vigilance and efficiency, which certainly prompted the authorities to take greater measures to stop the outrages.

[57] As stated in the bill of indictment; Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy,* p. 325.

[58] Koval'skaia's story that Ivaniv and other union members threw a bunch of leaflets out of the window to the workers and that that led the police to detect the printing press seems very far-fetched; Balabanov, *K istorii,* p. 109. She did not know about the second agent, Marian Ratke, who rented the apartment where the press was kept and who had alerted the security police about the forthcoming publication.

[59] See, for example, *Russkii evrei* (St. Petersburg), no. 19 (May 5, 1881), p. 751. Items in the Hebrew press are noted in my article, "Iggud ha-poalim ha-drom-russi veha-pogrom be-Kuev be-shnat 1881," published in *Shvuth* (Tel-Aviv), 1 (1973): 65, fns. 15 and 16. Facts about the leaflet and the liquidation of the union were often distorted and the commentaries biased, for reasons that cannot be dealt with here.

[60] That is not to say that only workers took part in the pogrom. The evidence shows that in Kiev, as in other cities, people from the so-called *obshchestvo* (educated society) were among the rioters and were even instigators; see Kutaisov's report in Krasnyi-Admoni, *Materialy,* pp. 412–17.

[61] In a letter to B. N. Smirnov; see B. Sapir, ed., *Vpered, 1873–1877,* vol. 2 (Dordrecht, 1970), p. 66.

Jewish community. The differentiation led to the explicit condemnation of the pogrom's indiscriminate attacks against all Jews, regardless of occupation or financial standing. The leaflet exposed the biased religious and nationalistic motivations behind the pogrom and touched on some chord of international social solidarity, tinged by moralizing references. This document unquestionably rejected the notion set forth by *Narodnaia volia* that the anti-Jewish excesses expressed the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and that they embodied a popular movement of deep and positive social significance. The leaflet did not even adhere to the notion of the potential importance of the pogrom.[62] That notion was held by some revolutionaries who, even though they despised what was happening, valued the outburst as a manifestation of the people's self-reliance, a kind of exercise before the big battle. They believed that what they considered to be a spontaneous outbreak of popular rage against the Jews would expand and turn against all rich men and exploiters without regard to religion or nationality, and they even hoped that it would evolve into a pure revolutionary movement for radical change of the social system.

From the leaflet it is evident that the union saw the occurrence of the pogrom as an opportunity to direct the masses toward revolution. There is no indication, however, that a revolutionary organization should desire such events, let alone instigate them. An article published sometime later, in the clandestine periodical *Narodnaia volia* (no. 6, October 1881), read: "We must not assume a negative or even an indifferent attitude towards a pure movement of the people. We should enunciate the general desires of all the forces whose discontent is justified and who are actively protesting — and lead them while consciously maintaining their point of departure."[63] This attitude was also expressed in correspondence reacting to the pogrom in Kiev and its repercussions throughout the province.[64]

There is no data about the specific reaction of the *narodovol'tsy* in Kiev at that time. But it seems that circles of the local intelligentsia, including radical students, looked favorably on the disorders, in hopes that it heralded a great social upheaval. Some regarded the pogrom

[62] One reservation about this statement will be noted below.
[63] *Literatura partii Narodnoi voli*, ed. B. Bazilevskii (Bogucharskii), no. 1 (Rostov, 1906), p. 275.
[64] *Literatura partii Narodnoi voli*, pp. 239–40, 242–47. The *Listok Narodnoi voli*, no. 1 (22 August 1881), says: "The Kiev events defined the direction and character which the people's activity should take."

itself as the beginnings of revolution; others saw it as an opportunity to ignite the revolution.[65]

In the face of all this the stand taken by Pavlo Ivaniv is all the more remarkable. He did not maintain that, even post factum, it was desirable to hold onto the anti-Jewish "point of departure" for the excesses, as advised in the *Narodnaia volia* article. On the contrary, he contended that positive revolutionary action requires a shift from the pogromist mentality. To ensure a real revolutionary struggle the anti-Jewish stance must be abandoned. Ivaniv's opposition to the indiscriminate anti-Jewish pogrom was based on his knowledge that Jews in the Ukraine were not socially uniform but stratified, and that the pogrom reflected religious and national hatred. Nonetheless, careful analysis points to some inconsistencies and problems in his views.

First, Ivaniv's leaflet repeatedly used the term *zhid* instead of *evrei.* As has already been noted, in the nineteenth century *zhid* traditionally reflected a complexity of negative attitudes towards the Jews. At the end of the 1870s to early 1880s, the term became a symbolic spark in the Judophobic camp, used to ignite the traditional animosity against the Jewish people. The periodical *Novoe vremia* (New Times), edited by A. Suvorin, led in that development, and *Kievlianin* kept pace with it.[66] The latter contaminated public opinion both on the eve of the pogroms and after they broke out.

Even in the Ukraine, where in the native language *zhyd* ordinarily meant simply "Jew," the use of the term was a provocation, due, in part, to the Russification of the cities.[67] In fact, Ivaniv wrote the

[65] Letters that Akselrod received from Kiev while he was abroad testified that at the beginning of the pogrom even some Jewish revolutionaries had the expectation that it would grow into a social revolution. See Akselrod, pp. 219–20, and 227–29.
[66] About the leading role of Suvorin and *Novoe vremia* in inciting anti-Jewish behavior in the second half of the 1870s, see E. Ambler, *The Career of Aleksei S. Suvorin: Russian Journalism and Politics (1861–1881)* (Detroit, 1972).

An unknown contemporary author asserted that the articles in *Kievlianin* on the "Jewish question" are "mostly a deviation from logic and common sense, from the most elementary notions on honor and self-esteem"; V. G.-M.-a [sic], *Kievlianin po evreiskomu voprosu* (Kiev, 1880). In the 1870s *Kievlianin* was also known for its anti-Ukrainian stand, especially in 1876, the year the tsarist government issued the prohibition against use of the Ukrainian language and culture (Drahomanov had been ousted from Kiev University the year before). For more information about the newspaper, see John D. Klier, "*Kievlianin* and the Jews: A Decade of Disillusionment, 1864–1873," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 1981): 83–101.
[67] Already at the beginning of the 1860s, the term figured in the disputes between Ukrainian writers in *Osnova* and Jewish-Russian publicists in *Sion*; see the *Evreiskaia entsyklopediia* (St. Petersburg), 2: 736–37. Contemporary resonances and

union's last leaflet in Russian rather than Ukrainian because among the pogromists were many workers from Central Russia, while Ukrainians living in the cities were familiar with the Russian language. To both Russians and non-Russians *zhid* was not an emotionally neutral term.[68] Its use in the union's leaflet could only engender negative associations about Jews. Since most of those who participated in the pogroms undoubtedly acted on emotional impulse rather than out of rational conviction, the use of *zhid* in the union's leaflet could not have furthered the declared purpose of dampening inflamed anti-Jewish sentiment or of introducing some element of rationality.*

The Russian word *zhid,* as a negative stereotype of the Jew, had absorbed various elements — religious, ethnic, economic, social, and political. In the 1870s, in times of sharpened social contrasts, crisis in the countryside, ferment among the peasantry, and accelerated capitalist development (especially in the Ukraine) in which Jews played a part, the notion of "Jewish exploitation"[69] became epitomized by that single word. By that formulation the reactionary camp fostered animosity against the Jews as allegedly the single factor causing the common people's misery. The formula was also cited as the official explanation for the pogroms, for instance, by the prosecutor Strelnikov in the military court that tried some of the pogromists in Kiev.

The regime's staunch opponents in the revolutionary camp also adopted the phrase "Jew exploiter" as a catchword for the money economy and a synonym for the entire Jewish community, although the majority of it was laboring and pauperized. The public use of *zhid,*

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discussions on the same issue can be found in such different sources as *Khrushchev Remembers* (Boston and Toronto, 1970), pp. 144–45, and L. Plyushch, *History's Carnival: A Dissident's Autobiography* (New York and London [1979]), pp. 163–67. In the 1920s some Soviet Ukrainian publications used *ievrei* instead of *zhyd* and both terms were included in dictionaries. One can trace the issue up to recent times: see, for example, P. Koval'chuk, *Antysemits'ka diialnist' ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv* (Kiev, 1965), and Voloshenko, *Narysy.*

68 Some sensitivity to this matter was evident in the first program drafted by Koval'skaia and Shchedrin. To exemplify the power of the bourgeoisie, it referred to a moneylender of Louis XIV and added "zhid" in quotation marks; Maksakov and Nevskii, *Iuzhnorusskie rabochie soiuzy.* Ellipses replaced the quoted word in the text as reprinted in Pankratova, *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii,* 2, pt. 2: 433.

* *Ed. note — It is just possible that Ivaniv used the general term* zhid *because it had currency among the common people — both Ukrainians and the Russians living in the Ukraine — to whom he was addressing the leaflet.*

69 Dubnov, *History of the Jews,* pp. 264, 269–73, 347–48.

or abstention from it, was often the demarcation between Judophobic elements and their opponents within the revolutionary movement. The leaflet containing the union's appeal is in some measure contradictory on this point. It clearly rejected the notion that all Jews are exploiters, and yet it repeatedly used a term which had that connotation.

There was another bizarre inconsistency in the union's leaflet. It reads: "One should not beat the *zhid* because . . . one should beat him because . . . ," which seems tantamount to "beat the Jews, but for other reasons." Such action would seem to be antithetical to the purported message — that only exploiters, of whatever nationality, should be attacked.

The leaflet was written hurriedly, just after the culmination of the excesses — that is, the attack on the factory of Iosip Brodskii on April 27, the second day of the pogrom. According to the official report, a mob stoned a military unit and when soldiers opened fire, one woman was killed and three men wounded. After those events, Ivaniv may have wanted to begin the union's appeal to the rioters cautiously,[70] then to proceed by calling into question their actions and motivations, and then to conclude by proposing alternative action.

The operative part of the appeal encouraged the mob to continue wreaking vengeance, but urged that it be directed not at all Jews, but at all "kulak-robbers," whether Jews or non-Jews, and at the authorities who defend any such "Brodskii." Placing Brodskii in the category of "robbers" was quite in tune with the tenets of the union, and had nothing to do with his being Jewish. The attack on his brewery was consistent with the command to beat "every kulak-robber." Afterwards the allegedly "innocent" rioters were counterassaulted by soldiers. The picture that emerged was of a social struggle by the "people" against their exploiters and of a resulting clash with the authorities who defended the exploiters — all in all, phenomena ardently useful to a revolutionary organization. The actual situation, however, was quite different.

Most of the victims of the pogrom in Kiev[71] as elsewhere were Jewish common people, residing in the city's Podil (Podol) quarter, but some were from wealthy families. The pogromists, who were also mainly common people, attacked rich Jews first because of their

[70] Hence the reference to one "of ours" (i.e., a Christian) in the leaflet.
[71] Drahomanov (*Sobranie,* 1:235) made special mention of Kiev in writing about the Jewish working people who suffered during the pogroms.

Jewishness, as is evident from the first lines of the union's leaflet. But even in rage the rioters and their more educated leaders[72] did not lose all sense of discernment. They distinguished wealthy Jews from wealthy non-Jews, taking pains not to injure the latter and even apologizing to them at times. On the other hand, even the intentional assault on non-Jewish property owners which occurred in some places outside Kiev did not evolve into a revolt against the existing social order, as the revolutionaries had somewhat naively hoped.

It is doubtful that protection for "some . . . Brodskii" was provided by the authorities. For obvious reasons, the authorities favored the wealthy Jewish capitalists over the Jewish common people, whom they abused and persecuted. But as things happened, members of the Brodskii family were hurt in Kiev during the pogrom, and there is no real evidence that special measures were taken to protect them.

The Kiev pogrom did not happen unexpectedly. The first outburst occurred in April 23, and two days later some officials warned Jews of the approaching danger. But the general governor, A. R. Drentel'n, neither took preventive steps nor used force to quell the riots. He took decisive action only when ordered to do so by the authorities in St. Petersburg, who had realized that the disorders could expand into a serious social and military problem.[73] In Kiev, as elsewhere, the rioters caught wind of the rumors, purposely spread, that the Jews were responsible for the assassination of Alexander II,[74] and took up the notion that his heir had ordered revenge. In their fury they confused the old accusation against the Jews as the crucifiers of Jesus with the actual slogan of the time — "the Jews, the assassins of the

[72] Contemporary writers, as well as later historians, believed that an organized group, still not identified, had its hand in the pogroms. For bibliographical data, see Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets,* 2nd ed. (New York and London, 1976), pp. 355–56.

[73] This was revealed during the trial of the Kiev pogromists. *Razsvet* (St. Petersburg), no. 18 (2 May 1881), p. 690, and no. 26 (26 June 1881), pp. 1037–1038; Krasnyi-Admoni, *Materialy,* p. 338.

[74] Even the new tsar, Aleksander III, took action against the pogrom (R. P. Kantor, "Aleksander III o evreiskikh pogromakh, 1881–1883," *Evreiskaia letopis* [Moscow and Petrograd], 1 [1923]: 149–58), but not out of concern for its victims. On a later occasion (1884), when told about the difficulty of using the military to stop the pogroms because of the soldiers' sympathy with the pogromists, he frankly remarked, "I must admit that I, too, am pleased when they beat them [the Jews]"; M. Krichevskii, ed., *Dnevnik A. S. Suvorina* (Moscow and Petrograd, 1923), p. 167.

Father-Tsar."[75] The outbreak of the pogrom occurred around the Easter holidays, surely a contributing influence.

News of the "disorders" seared through government circles in St. Petersburg at the same time that it buoyed hopes among the revolutionaries. There were many descriptions of the clashes between the security forces and the rioters, which happened in defiance of the tsar's orders and instructions. The riots spread from Kiev to all the region, largely, government documents show, because of the deliberate restraint of the local administration, especially Governor-General von Drentel'n. The pogromists took the restraint to be silent permission from above and continued to riot as an expression not of rebellion, but of obedience and loyalty to the government. After the security forces finally intervened, there were instances of the rioters' rage against the authorities for spilling Christian blood to protect Jews, but this was not what the revolutionaries aspired to. Actually, the trial of the pogromists in May became a stage for blatant anti-Jewish rhetoric by the prosecutor, Strelnikov. That was only one manifestation of the harsh anti-Jewish measures taken by the authorities, which included explusion as well as harrassment and persecution of Jews who remained in the city. Rising above all other measures were the general anti-Jewish "May laws" issued by Ignatev, minister of internal affairs, in 1882.

The appeal of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union against the pogrom was not reflected in what actually happened. Clinging in any way to the "point of departure" of the pogrom — namely, as an attack on a "Brodskii" — and trying to turn it into an attack against all exploiters, was thoroughly artificial. The hope that it would be the beginning of an all-out assault on the capitalists was illusory, at best.

A disturbing element is the apparent discrepancy between the tone and attitude of the union's leaflet of January 30, which were anti-Jewish, and those of the appeal on April 27, which were essentially anti-pogrom. One possible explanation is that Pavlo Ivaniv, an ardent exponent of agitation in the village (*derevenshchik*), had a more differentiated and sophisticated view of Jews living in the city than of Jews in the countryside. But why did the union's intervention, in the form of Ivaniv's appeal, come only on the fifth day after the outbreak

[75] The phrase occurred repeatedly throughout the reports of Loris-Melikov, the minister of internal affairs, to the tsar; see Kantor, "Aleksander III."

of the pogrom, which happened on April 23? The reasons might have been hesitation about what stand to take, anticipation of an optimal moment for diverting the pogrom into a general revolution, or even practical exigencies.

At the end of the 1870s — years of intensified anti-Jewish agitation foreshadowing pogroms — the Russian revolutionary press was almost silent about the Jewish situation in general and the rising hatred of Jews in particular. All the more significant, then, is the information about attitudes toward Jews within the Southern-Russian Workers' Union. While keeping in mind the union's anti-pogrom stance during the crucial Kiev pogrom, one should also consider the other attitudes that were expressed in its publications and activities. Already in 1880 Drahomanov warned that "in the face of the present relations between the Ukrainian people and the Jews it is foreseeable that every movement of the first [against the existing economic order of affairs] will be followed by bloody scenes of Jew-beating, even more unjust than the events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[76] In the wake of the pogroms Drahomanov remarked, "The anti-Jewish pogrom in the Ukraine took the socialists there unawares — most of them, having been distracted by abstract formulas and centralist concerns, were unprepared to understand the local social-national relations in their concrete forms."[77] Therefore, as Drahomanov assessed the situation, no attempt was made to set "a new rational course" for the popular movement manifested in the pogroms.[78] Drahomanov's statements require an addendum.[79] Aside from a misunderstanding of national problems in general and the conditions in the Ukraine in particular,

[76] Drahomanov, *Sobranie,* 1:234.
[77] Drahomanov, *Sobranie,* 1:235.
[78] This seems, in a sense, to be what Ivaniv tried to do, although Drahomanov did not know about it. In an article written later (May 1882) Drahomanov referred repeatedly to the pogrom in Kiev, and cited a lengthy letter from Kiev. He repeated the call for solidarity between Ukrainian and Jewish workingmen against all oppressors and exploiters: see "Ukrains'ki seliany v nespokiini roky (1880–1882)," in *Hromada: Ukrains'ka zbirka,* no. 5 (1882), pp. 242–58. Nonetheless, Drahomanov's attitude right up to the outbreak of the pogroms in the Ukraine was quite different in spirit, as is evident from his article in the *Pall Mall Gazette,* cited by the *New York Times* on 11 May 1881, p. 1. On the problem of the eventual diversion of the pogrom in Kiev against all capitalists, see the utterances of Akselrod as cited in A. Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 71–72.
[79] The evolution of Drahomanov's own positions on the Jewish question before, during, and after the pogroms, requires separate comprehensive discussion.

the revolutionary movement suffered from a deep misconception about the contemporary Jewish situation. It ignored both the autonomous nature of Jewish existence and its complicated interrelationships with the surrounding society. As a result the *Narodnaia volia* organization blundered tragically in accepting the pogroms. From the other side emanated the vacillating attitude of the Southern-Russian Workers' Union. Even the union's bold step against the pogrom, taken by Pavlo Ivaniv in writing, printing, and circulating the appeal of 27 April 1881, was not free from bias.

*Tel Aviv University*

# DOCUMENT ARTICLES

## Six Unpublished Letters of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (1656–1657)

A. B. PERNAL

On 26 May 1648 a relatively obscure petty noble, at one time a loyal registrant of "His Majesty's Zaporozhian Army," spurred his followers on to a victory over the Polish Crown troops near Korsun'. The name of this Cossack leader, shouted out in jubilation that day by his followers at the edge of the vast Ukrainian steppe, soon resounded throughout Europe.

It is not an easy task to give a comprehensive analysis of the major accomplishments of this man — Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (ca. 1595–1657). The Cossack hetman was a person of great complexity. The controversy which was set in motion during his life developed into a storm of polemic after his death. Hence, historians must exercise caution in their use of all sources relating to him. Since the primary and secondary research materials often furnish conflicting information, historians are obliged to reason carefully in making deductions from them.

The contemporaries of Khmel'nyts'kyi, especially those who were influenced, directly or indirectly, by the policies he pursued, tended to view his actions either very positively or very negatively. To his supporters he was truly "God-given," the new "Moses" who would free them from the yoke of bondage and lead them to a promised land without landlords.[1] His opponents, on the other hand, held him

[1] Journal of Wojciech Miaskowski, chamberlain of Lviv, Pereiaslav, 23 February 1649: [Jakub Michałowski, comp.], *Jakuba Michałowskiego wojskiego lubelskiego a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza z dawnego rękopisma będą-*

responsible for almost every heinous act within the boundaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, they believed that this "Zaporozhian Machiavelli"[2] intended to tear to shreds the socio-political fabric not only of the Polish-Lithuanian state, but also of Europe as a whole. They pointed out that his evil example was being followed by another rebel — Oliver Cromwell.[3]

These two extreme positions persisted in Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian historiography for over two and a half centuries after Khmel'nyts'kyi's death. Only after reason and objective scholarship overcame passion and hyper-nationalism[4] did his countenance change considerably, revealing an individual who possessed exceptional diplomatic, military, and political talents, as well as a leader who played a decisive role in the history of Eastern Europe.

In their search for truth historians require a solid base of sources. They regard the publication of properly edited primary sources as a matter of great importance. Thus, in 1961 historians and other scholars whose interests center on the seventeenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russia, and the Ukraine were elated over a new publication containing primary sources on the activities of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi.

The documents in this source book are arranged chronologically and cover the last ten years of Khmel'nyts'kyi's life. They comprise diversified material: official correspondence, instructions to envoys, manifestoes (*universaly*), orders to military units, petitions, and the like. Before the book appeared in print, most of the documents were scattered in some one hundred publications, and the remainder lay buried in the manuscript collections of archives and libraries of several European countries. The difficult tasks of locating, classifying, translating (into Ukrainian), and editing the material were undertaken by

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*cego własnością Ludwika hr. Morsztyna* (vol. 2 of *Zabytki z dziejów, oświaty i sztuk pięknych*; hereafter cited as *Księga pamiętnicza*), ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel (Cracow, 1864), p. 377.

2 Teodor Michał Obuchowicz, chamberlain of Mazyr, to unnamed, Taikury, 25 May 1649: ibid., p. 396.

3 Instructions to Medeksza, camp near Średnik, 1 August 1657: Stefan Franciszek Medeksza, *Stefana Franciszka z Prószcza Medekszy, sekretarza Jana Kazimierza, sędziego ziemskiego koweńskiego, księga pamiętnicza wydarzeń zaszłych na Litwie 1654–1668* (vol. 3 of *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*), ed. Władysław Seredyński (Cracow, 1875), p. 158.

4 Due in large measure to the work of Ludwik Kubala (1838–1918) and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934).

the renowned historian Ivan Kryp"iakevych (1886–1967) and his colleague Ivan Butych.[5] Even though they did not succeed in finding every document issued by the chancery of the Zaporozhian Army under the Cossack hetman's signature, nevertheless they made a significant contribution to historical study, deservedly greeted with praise by a worldwide community of scholars.

Kryp"iakevych and Butych were the first to admit that their collection was incomplete.[6] They also expressed hope that over time additional originals or copies of Khmel'nyts'kyi's documents would be found. They did not have to wait long for that to happen. In 1963 Zbigniew Wójcik published Khmel'nyts'kyi's manifesto directed to Colonel Ivan Nechai (1656).[7] Three years later three letters of the Cossack hetman addressed to János Kemény (1648, 1655–56) and two to Ferenc Bethlen (1649–50) appeared in print in *Arkhivy Ukrainy*.[8] In 1970, a manifesto of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi guaranteeing the safety of the city of Slutsk (1656) was published in *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*.[9] In 1978, Łucja Częścik announced the discovery of an "unknown" letter of Khmel'nyts'kyi, which was actually a forgery that had already been published.[10] Already in 1969 L. Z.

[5] Ivan Kryp"iakevych and Ivan Butych, *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–1657* (hereafter *Dokumenty*) (Kiev, 1961).

[6] Unfortunately, they deliberately excluded two documents. Their arguments that these were fabricated are unconvincing. For more details, see Zbigniew Wójcik's review of *Dokumenty* in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 70 (1963): 992.

[7] Wójcik's review of *Dokumenty* in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 70 (1963): 993.

[8] I. Butych, "Do istorii ukrains'ko-transil'vans'kykh vzaiemyn (1648–1656 rr.)," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1966, no. 3, pp. 62–71.

[9] A. P. Hrytskevych, "Universal Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho mistu Sluts'ku (1656 r.)," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1970, no. 12, pp. 92–93.

[10] In her *Sejm warszawski w 1649/50 roku* (Wrocław, 1978), Łucja Częścik states that Zbigniew Wójcik, in his review of *Dokumenty*, failed to indicate that Kryp"iakevych and Butych left out Khmel'nyts'kyi's letter to Jan Kazimierz, dated 1 January 1650. Noting that she has found copies of this letter in MS 934 (Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskich, Warsaw) and in MS 1657 (Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow), she cites it extensively and bases her conclusion, accepting Khmel'nyts'kyi's "confession" and his apparent support for his enemies, on it. The letter's authenticity is certain, she claims, because its text and that of the instruction issued by Khmel'nyts'kyi to the Cossack envoys in 1649 and addressed to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies contain almost identically worded passages (*Sejm warszawski*, pp. 10–11, 121–22).

Unfortunately, Częścik's remarks and evaluations are inaccurate and misleading, for the following reasons:

(1) While the copy of this letter in MS 943, pp. 140–43, is dated 1 January 1650, the copy in MS 1657, pp. 214–15 (old pagination), pp. 136–37 (new pagination), bears the date 2 January 1650.

Histsova mentioned the discovery of a letter of Khmel'nyts'kyi in the Central State Historical Archive at Kiev, in a collection of photocopies gathered from Polish archives.[11] However, the magnitude of the incompleteness of the Cossack leader's documents was revealed only by Frank E. Sysyn's publication of fifteen items: twelve letters by Khmel'nyts'kyi to Adam Kysil (1649–1652), one letter to Jan Kazimierz (1652), as well as two manifestoes (1648, 1657).[12] The Soviet historian Iurii Mytsyk reported in an article published in 1980 that he had uncovered twenty hitherto unknown documents, as well as more than 170 new copies of already published documents.[13] He gives the dates and addressees of nineteen documents, but does not provide archival locations. Of these documents, he published only one. Eight of the documents he mentions were in fact published by Frank E. Sysyn.[14] So, in fact, Mytsyk appears to have found eleven new Khmel'nyts'kyi documents, although confirmation must await their publication.

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(2) The heading of the MS 1657 copy — "Species quasi listu od Chmielnickiego do KJM" — should have led the author to conclude that the letter is an obvious forgery. Also, it is impossible to vouch for the letter's authenticity after reading the two opening sentences.

(3) The full text of the letter can be found in *Księga pamiętnicza,* no. 237, pp. 637–40, and in *Dokumenty,* no. 6, pp. 631–32; however, in both cases it is dated one year later, in 1651. The editors of these two documentary collections give convincing reasons for their views that the letter has been fabricated. Why did the author pass over these without comment?

(4) Częścik's argument for authenticity based on textual similarities between this letter and the instruction of Khmel'nyts'kyi is incomprehensible. What are the similar passages? Moreover, why does Częścik cite the instruction from MS Steinwehr III (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław)? The text of the instruction has been published not only in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, izdavaemyi kommissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, sostoiashchei pri Kievskom, Podol'skom i Volynskom General-Gubernatore,* pt. 3, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1914), no. 153, 362–65; but also in *Dokumenty,* no. 87, pp. 151–52.

For additional details about this monograph, see Frank E. Sysyn's review in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 1981): 122–24.

11 L. Z. Histsova, "Dokumenty TsDIA URSR pro vyzvol'nu viinu ukrains'koho narodu 1648–1654 rr. ta vozz"iednannia Ukrainy z Rosiieiu," *Arkhivy Ukrainy,* 1979, no. 3, p. 46.

12 Frank E. Sysyn, "Documents of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 4 (December 1978): 500–524.

13 Iu. A. Mytsyk, "Novye dokumenty B. Khmel'nytskogo ob antifeodal'noi bor'be narodnykh mass na Ukraine i sotsial'noi politike getmanskoi administratsii v period osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.," in *Aktual'nye problemy agrarnoi istorii Ukrainy* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1980), pp. 175–85, especially p. 176.

14 Sysyn, "Documents of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj," docs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14.

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My work in Polish collections has yielded six hitherto unpublished letters by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi which provide new evidence and data about the diplomatic intercourse between the Ukraine and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[15] (Only one, document 3, pp. 225–226, was mentioned by Mytsyk.) This correspondence is very valuable because the diplomatic contacts in 1656–1657 have been inadequately recorded and analyzed by both Ukrainian and Polish historians.

The letters, all of which bear the signature of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, are divisable into three types: two original autograph letters (nos. 5 and 6); one nineteenth-century copy of an original autograph letter (no. 1); and three seventeenth-century copies (nos. 2, 3, and 4), which appear to be copies of copies rather than of the original letters.

The texts of these six letters have been prepared in accordance with an *Instruction*[16] of the Institute of History (Polish Academy of Sciences), which gives rules for the publication of historical source material in the Polish language for the period from 1500 to 1850.

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## LETTERS OF BOHDAN KHMEL'NYTS'KYI*

### 1. Letter to the Crown Hetmans and the Commissioners

Chyhyryn, 5 February 1656 [o.s.]

*While expressing anguish over the catastrophes encountered by his "Fatherland," Khmel'nyts'kyi emphasizes that this woeful state of affairs has been caused not by the Cossacks, but by certain prominent individuals who, blinded by hate, spared no effort "to extirpate poor Ukraine, which was always a shield for the Polish Crown."*

15 I wish to thank Professors Frank E. Sysyn (Harvard University), Bohdan Struminsky (Harvard University), and Adam Kersten (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University of Lublin) for their help in preparing this source article for publication.

16 Kazimierz Lepszy, ed., *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953).

* See the appendix of abbreviations, p. 230.

*He maintains that all such persons should be held responsible for the blood shed hitherto, the misfortunes faced by the king, and the ruin of the state as a whole. Moreover, he stresses that even though the khan is an ally of the king, the recently-arranged "brotherhood" between the khan and himself should not be interpreted as an automatic guarantee of Cossack military aid to the king upon his request. The conclusion of a satisfactory permanent peace treaty between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ukraine, he insists, is a* condicio sine qua non *before any military assistance is supplied. While expressing hope that the time is ripe for such a treaty, and noting that the recently-sworn "confederation" is a good sign, he insists that matters of such importance must first be approved by a Cossack general council, which he promises to convene as soon as possible. He has instructed the envoys Hołub and Tysza to reveal additional information orally.*

Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Kórnik): MS 1558, no. 20, fols. unnumbered; nineteenth-century copy.[1]

JWMPP Hetmani Koronni[2] i JWMPP Komisarze,[3] nasi WMPP i Przyjaciele!

Niejednokroć przed tym wysyłaliśmy posłów swych do JKM[4] i wszystkiego Senatu, aby już krew chrześcijańska nie lała się więcej, a nieprzyjaciele postronni nie cieszyli się. Tego nie mogliśmy otrzymać, co nie z woli JKM, *lecz za radą niektórych gniewem zajątrzonych dyrektorów działo się,* którzy nie oglądając się na przyszły upadek, a miłości i przyjaźni nie życząc, do tego i JKM przywodziły, czego Bóg sam jest świadkiem, i cokolwiek teraz w Rzpltej stało się, nie z naszej przyczyny; gdyż ktokolwiek jaśnie w to wejrzy, prawdę miłujący, musi przyznać, że nie my koronę Panu

[1] Heading: "Kopia listu oryginalnego Bohdana Chmielnickiego, hetmana Kozaków do komisarzów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, który posłałem do Puław, dnia 16 novembris 1803 dla księżny jenerałowej Izabelli z Flemmingów Czartoryskiej; wraz z moim listem, pisanym do niej przy tejże okazyji." At the bottom of the letter, in another handwriting, there is the inscription: "Pismo ręki Kaj[etana] Kwiatkowskiego b[yłego] archiwisty nieświeskiego."

[2] Stanisław "Rewera" Potocki (1579–1667): castellan of Kam"ianets (Podil's'kyi), 1628; palatine of Bratslav, 1631; Crown field hetman, 1652; Crown grand hetman, 1654; and palatine of Cracow, 1658. Stanisław Lanckoroński ( + 1657): castellan of Halych, 1646; castellan of Kam"ianets (Podil's'kyi), 1649; palatine of Bratslav, 1649; *regimentarz,* 1649–1650; palatine of Ruthenia, 1652; and Crown field hetman, 1654.

[3] In the instructions, issued in Łańcut and dated 26 January 1656, the following were named commissioners: Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz ( + 1660), palatine of Chernihiv, 1652; Michał Zaćwilichowski ( + 1659), seneschal of Vinnytsia; Jan Franciszek Łubowicki ( + 1674), royal secretary, ca. 1643, dapifer of Ciechanów, ca. 1647, castellan of Chełm, 1659, and castellan of Volhynia, 1661; and Stanisław Lanckoroński (see fn. 2 above).

[4] Jan Kazimierz Waza (1609–1672): king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania; elected in 1648, crowned in 1649, and abdicated in 1668.

z głowy zdjęli, *jeno ci, o których WMMPP sami dobrze raczycie wiedzieć,* iż teraz Pan ojczysty musi przez radę i nieobaczność ich exilium pati.[5]

Nie odłączywaliśmy się nigdy siłami naszemi, ufając w łasce JKM i Rzpltej, aż dotychczas spodziewając się, że w amnistyją wszystkie rzeczy opuściwszy, zobopólnemi rękami nieprzyjacielom odpór dawać będziemy. Ale *wiedząc o radach niektórych z WMMPP i umyśle takim, że nie odpuszczać, ale raczej ekstyrpować bidną Ukrainę,*[6] która zawsze tarczą Koronie polskiej była, musieliśmy, P. Boga wziąwszy na pomoc, o sobie i o posiłki się starać, jakoż jawno to P. Bogu i wszytkim narodom, że lubo P. Bóg nam z miłości i przejrzenia swego Boskiego wszytkie rzeczy wojenne w ręce podawał, nie chcąc jednak do ostatka ojczyzny zniszczyć, zawsze z wojskami powracaliśmy i teraz upadku wszelakiego na Rzpltą żałujemy.

Te braterstwo[7] zawzięte z Chanem JM krymskim[8] nie na to się zawarło, abyśmy bez utwierdzenia rzeczy wiecznych posiłki jakie dawać mieli, tylko dlatego, kto przyjacielem nam, to i Chana JM, a kto nieprzyjacielem Chanu JM, to i nam. Jednak wszytkie rzeczy mogą za pomocą Bożą przyść do skutku swego, tylko żeby jedna miłość i konfidencyja w sercach naszych wkorzeniła się, a te dawne zawody z serc naszych już wyrzucić.

Zrozumieliśmy z listów WM naszych MPP do nas pisanych, że WMMPP poprzysiężoną konfederacyję z sobą uczynili;[9] jest to rzecz świętobliwa i dobra, tylko daj Boże, aby jeszcze i między wojskami naszemi stanęła.

Lubobyśmy szerzej do WMH[etmanów] MPP pisali, lepiej powierzywszy wszytko JMP Hołubowi[10] i P. Tyszy,[11] ustną relacyją do WMMPP referować zleciliśmy, którym raczcie WMMPP, cokolwiek będą referować od nas zleconego, wiarę dać, a my tymczasem ze swą starszyzną i czernią radę o tym uczynimy, a teraz trudno podczas zimy WMMPP ubezpieczać mamy. U nas gotowość wszelaka, tylko pewnych rzeczy patrzymy. Na ten czas powolne usługi nasze pilno zalecamy łasce WMMPaństwa.
Z Czehryna, 5 februarii 1656.[12]

5 At the close of October 1655, many magnates and nobles, including most units of the regular army, surrendered to the Swedish invaders. Jan Kazimierz fled to Silesia. Early in January 1656 he returned to the Commonwealth.

6 All passages appearing in italics are underlined in the letter.

7 This refers to the Cossack-Tatar settlement reached near Ozirna on 22 or 23 November 1655.

8 Meḥmed Girāy IV (1610–1674): khan of Crimea, 1641–1644, 1654–1665.

9 Confederation of Łańcut, ca. 21 January 1656.

10 Samuel Hołub. From 1 January 1654 to 30 September 1659 he commanded a squadron of "Cossack" cavalry in the Crown army.

11 Perhaps Adam Tysza. He may have served in Hołub's squadron.

12 The commissioners' instructions were dated 26 January 1656, according to the Gregorian (n. s.) calendar. Two days later the envoys were sent to Khmel'nyts'kyi. Considering the distance and the season of the year, it would have been very difficult for the envoys to reach Chyhyryn and to get a reply by 5 February n.s. Therefore, this letter must be dated according to the Julian (o. s.) calendar.

WM naszych MPP życzliwy pr[zyja]c[ie]l i sługa
Bohdan Chmielnicki,
Hetman Wojsk Zaporoskich.
L. s.[13]
ADDRESS:[14] JW moim MPP, JMP Hetmanowi Koronnemu i JMP Hetmanowi Połnemu i WMMPP Komisarzom moim MPP oddać.

## 2. Letter to Jan Kazimierz

Chyhyryn, 7 March 1656 o.s.

*Khmel'nyts'kyi gives reasons for not dispatching the "several thousand" Cossack troops requested by the king at this time. Advising the king to have patience because steps already have been taken to furnish Cossack military aid in the not-too-distant future, Khmel'nyts'kyi assures him that the Cossacks will soon demonstrate their loyalty. The king should not fear the Swedes, he maintains, because they are in no position to wage war in the territories east of the Vistula River.*

Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej (Warsaw): MS 1218, fol. 1; seventeenth-century copy.[1]

Najjaśniejszy Miłościwy Królu, Panie nasz Miłościwy![2]

Listy WKM, Pana naszego Miłościwego, posiłków kilka tysięcy Wojska przebranego Zaporoskiego po nas potrzebujące, żadnej by w ekspedyjowaniu nie cierpiały moram, gdyby tylko częścią rezolucyjej wiesiennej do przebywania periculum, częścią zwyczaj rady wojskowej nie był obstaculo; obesłałem tedy jako najprędzej pułkowników pobliższych, aby się zjechawszy jako najskorzej, każdy z osobna swoje dał sentire. Tym samym może się nieprzyjaciel[3] WKM, P. mego Miłościwego znać do winy, że nam przyobiecawszy żelazu swemu dalej Wisły non evagari, przyrzeczone transgressus est limites. Nie bez tego, żeby samże do dobrej przyszedszy rekolekcyjej i wspomniawszy przyślubioną umowę, nie miał nazad retrahere pedem. Nieco WKM, P. memu Miłościwemu habenda patientia, póki uniwersały moje pułkowników capiendi consilii causa nie zaciągną. [Wynur]zy,[4] da P. Bóg, w głębokim aczkolwiek wirze wojennych niesnasków zatopiona, ku Majestatowi WKM wierność i życzliwość nasza. Ta tylko mała naszego oświadczenia

[13] Description of the seal: "NB Pieczęć była wyciśnięta na wierzchu arkuszowego listu na wosku czerwonym, wyobrażającym kozaka stojącego z muszkietem, wokoło napis moskiewskimi literami tytuły Chmielnickiego wyrażający."
[14] Heading: "Kopia adresu."
[1] Heading: "Kopia listu od Chmielnickiego."
[2] Jan Kazimierz (see Letter 1, fn. 4).
[3] The Swedes and their allies.
[4] Fol. damaged.

odwłoka, Superis na czas committenda, którym my Majestatu WKM P. naszego Miłościwego dostojeństwo polecając, Ich przyczyny o podźwignienie zachwiałej ojczyzny [i][5] zdrowia przy szczęśliwym WKM panowaniu supplemento [uniże]nie[6] prosimy, onego cursu indefesso w późne życząc i wesołe la [ta].[7]
Datum z Czehryna, 7 martii s. v. 1656.
WKM, P. mego Miłościwego najniższy sługa
Bohdan Chmielnicki,
H[etman] W[ojska] Z[aporoskiego].[8]

## 3. Letter to Stanisław Potocki

Chyhyryn, 22 March 1656 n.s.

*Khmel'nyts'kyi stresses that while he is seeking a negotiated peace treaty earnestly, the work of the commission will have to be postponed until the summer. He excuses himself for not supplying military aid, claiming that he is compelled to abide by the decision taken by the Cossack officers. He states that the officers voted against such an undertaking in the spring primarily because they were concerned about insufficient provisions for their troops and the danger of river-crossing during the thaw. At the same time Khmel'nyts'kyi consoles Potocki, mentioning that the delays will have no serious consequences because the Swedes, for similar reasons, must also be inactive.*

(1) Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej (Warsaw): MS 934, p. 377; seventeenth-century copy.[1]
(2) Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Biblioteka Czartoryskich (Cracow): MS 1656, p. 211; seventeenth-century copy.[2]

JWMP Hetmanie [Wielki] Koronny, mój MP i Przyjacielu![3]

Ktobykolwiek pokoju nie życzył sobie, rozumiem, aboby nie [był] człowiekiem, abo nader musiałby być głupim. Każdy to nam przyzna, żeśmy na to zawsze gonili, jakoby i samym w miłym osiedzieć pokoju i ojczyznę in dulci

[5] Fol. damaged.
[6] Fol. damaged.
[7] Fol. damaged.
[8] A Latin summary of this letter was first published in 1897. See Stanisław Temberski, *Stanisława Temberskiego roczniki 1647–1656* (vol. 16 of *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*), ed. Wiktor Czermak (Cracow, 1897), p. 342. It is also included in *Dokumenty* (no. 357, p. 475).
[1] Heading: "List od Chmielnickiego do JMP hetmana, 1656."
[2] Heading: "Kopia listu Chmielnickiego do JMP hetmana, 1656 22 martii."
[3] Stanisław Potocki (see Letter 1, fn. 2).

widzieć otio; o czym, da Bóg, i teraz non diffidimus, byleby nam pożądane w szczęściu przyśpiało lato, do któregośmy przyśpienia odłożyli komisyją. Że jednak posiłków dla pewnych przeszkód posłać nie możemy, wybaczyć nam JKM raczy, gdyż co zgodną wszystkiej starszyzny definitive uchwałą, tego naruszać nam prywatnie nie można. Ich taka stanęła wola, żeby się z nimi dla niedostatku żywności i głodnego czasu wiosiennego, także też i niepodróżnego, zatrzymać. Nam pewnie przeciwko wszytkim usiłować przytrudno. Sam WM mój MP wiesz, że w tych krajach, cokolwiek bez spólnej starszych i młodszych rady staje się, nie trwa pospolicie statecznie, gdyż to wojsko temi się nawet ufundowało zwyczajami. Lepiej tedy zdało się nam zatrzymać się z trochę na czas, niżeli ich uraziwszy przełamaniem umówionego postanowienia animusze, i sobie jednać niechęć i KJM przeszkodę. Nic się, da P. Bóg, [w] tym, że pójdzie w przewłokę, nie zawadzi, bo Król szwedzki[4] na czas jako podobna od zamysłu strzymać się pewnie dla niewczesnych przepraw musi i nam tymczasem do kontynuowania złożonej komisyjej poda się czas i pogodę. Usługi etc.
Z Czehryna, 22 martii 1656.
Przyjaciel i sługa
Bohdan Chmielnicki.

## 4. Letter to Ludwika Maria

Chyhyryn, 20 August 1656 o.s.

*Khmel'nyts'kyi expresses joy at the queen's peace initiative, assuring her that he has been laboring to achieve the same goal. Maintaining that the Cossacks have always pursued the cause of peace, rather than war, he says that the past conflicts and bloodshed between the king and the Zaporozhian Army must have been willed by God. Her envoy, Szczuka, will reveal his pacific inclinations to her orally.*

Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk): MS 300, 53/89, no. 5, p. 19; seventeenth-century copy.

Najjaśniejsza Miłościwa Królowo, nasza wielce Miłościwa Pani![1]

Jakośmy przeszłych czasów zawsze wielkiej od WKM, Paniej naszej M. ku sobie i wszelkiemu Wojsku Zaporoskiemu doznawali łaski, tak nie mniej nas to cieszy, że i teraz tejże łaski od WKM, Paniej naszej M. odmiany nie

[4] Karl X Gustav (1622–1660): king of Sweden, 1654–1660.
[1] Ludwika Maria (Louise-Marie de Gonzague) (1611–1667): queen of Poland and grand duchess of Lithuania; wife of Władysław IV, 1646, and of Jan Kazimierz, 1649.

doznawamy, kiedy nas łaskawemi słowy i pisaniem przez P. Szczukę,[2] pokojowego swego, WKM teraz odsyłać raczy. Za co my WKM, P. naszej M. uniżenie dziękując, to deklarujemy szczyrze, iż jako przedtym tak i teraz nigdy nie życzymy krwie chrześcijańskiej rozlanie. A cokolwiek się po te czasy między KJM, P. naszym M. i Wojskiem Zaporoskim stało, tegośmy nigdy nie byli przyczyną, bośmy zawsze o pokoju się starali, aniżeli wojny pragnęli, ale samego to Boga Wszechmogącego sprawy były, z którego dopuszczenia i woli świętej i to się wszystko działo. A teraz, abyśmy się jednakowemi w pożądaniu miłego pokoju ukazali, ustnie P. Szczukę, pokojowego WKM, Paniej M., mówić uprosiliśmy. Powolne zatym usługi nasze w nieodmienną łaskę WKM, Paniej naszej M. oddajemy się.
Dan w Czehrynie, d. 20 augusti 1656 według starego [kalendarza].
WKM, Paniej naszej Miłościwej we wszem powolni słudzy
Bohdan Chmielnicki,
Hetman Woj[ska] Zapo[roskiego].

## 5. Letter to Paweł Sapieha

Chyhyryn, 11 January 1657 o.s.

*Khmel'nyts'kyi rebukes Sapieha for expressing sentiments of friendship and peace in his letters while his troops have been plundering the property of Archimandrite Tukal's'kyi, who was forced to flee for his life. He emphasizes that such acts of violence, aimed against the Cossacks and the Orthodox, cannot be tolerated. Khmel'nyts'kyi insists that if Sapieha wishes to continue cordial relations, he must punish all the guilty soldiers and return the looted possessions of Tukal's'kyi to the Cossack garrison stationed in Turaŭ.*

Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Edwarda Raczyńskiego (Poznań): MS 88, fol. 167r; original autograph letter.
A photograph of this letter appears on p. 231.

JWMP Wojewodo Wileński, nasz MP i Przyjacielu![1]

Wszystkich listów, któreśmy po te czasy od WM mojego MP odbierali, sentencyja przyjaźni i dobrego afektu ku nam i Wojsku Zaporoskiemu pełna była, a teraz, jako widzimy, że w rzeczy samej inaczej się dzieje, bo mamy tę wiadomość z pułku kijowskiego, że przewielebnego JM O. Tukalskiego,[2]

[2] Kazimierz Szczuka.
[1] Paweł Jan Sapieha (1610–1665): palatine of Vitsebsk, 1646; palatine of Vilnius, 1656; and Lithuanian grand hetman, 1656.
[2] Iosif Neliubovych-Tukal's'kyi (+ 1676): Orthodox bishop of Mahilëŭ and metropolitan of Kiev, 1663.

archimandrytę leszczyńskiego w jego własnej majętności Sosznej[3] ze wszystkiego domostwa, a nawet i z aparatów cerkiewnych złupiono; i jako mamy pewną wiadomość, do majętności WM mojego MP, Lachowicz[4] zaprowadzono, a samego JM O. archimandrytę mało o śmierć nie przyprawiono, gdyby ucieczką zdrowia swego nie ratował. Który najazd żołnierze spod regimentu WM mojego uczynili, skąd widoma jest z strony WMciów przeciwko Wojsku Zaporoskiemu nieprzyjaźń i przeciwko wierze naszej, o którą zdrowia nasze przez tak wiele lat pokładaliśmy. Bo jeżeli duchownym wiary naszej, którzy de natura religionis resistere nie powinni i nie mogą, gwałty dzieją się, sequitur, że i nam, eiusdem religionis synów toż sperandum. Rozumiemy jednak, iż się to bez wiadomości WM mojego MP i rozkazania stało, przetoż pr[aese]ntibus WMMP wielce prosimy, chciej rozkazać rzeczy zabranych JM O. archimandrycie restytucyją uczynić, a swawolnych skarać, abyśmy samym skutkiem ofiarowanej w listach przyjaźni doznali. Przy tym się łasce i przyjaźni WMMP z przyjaźnią i powolnością naszą oddajemy.
Dan w Czehrynie, d. 11 ianuarii 1657 s.v.
WM mojemu MP wszego dobra życzliwy przyjaciel i sługa
Bohdan Chmielnicki,
H[etman] Wo[jska] Zap[oroskiego].
POSTCRIPT: A te rzeczy rozkaż WMMP do Turowa[5] do załogi odesłać.
Fol. 168v L. s.
ADDRESS: JW a nam WMP i przyjacielowi JMP Pawłowi Sapieże, Wojewodzie Wileńskiemu, Hetmanowi Wielkiemu WKsL oddać.

### 6. Letter to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł

Chyhyryn, 24 April 1657 n.s.

*Emphasizing that he wishes to maintain friendly relations with the Radziwiłł family, Khmel'nyts'kyi promises to issue orders to his colonel instructing him that the landed estates of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł are to be spared from devastation by the Cossack troops.*

Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Edwarda Raczyńskiego (Poznań): MS 76, no. 133, fol. 232; original autograph letter.
A photograph of this letter appears on p. 232.

[3] Near Parokhonsk, in the district of Pinsk, palatinate of Brest.
[4] Liakhavichy, in the palatinate of Navahrudak (Noŭharadok).
[5] Turaŭ, on the Prypiat River, in the palatinate of Brest.

JOKsMP Podczaszy WKsL, nam WMP i Przyjacielu![1]

Zadatkom uprzejmym domu Radziwiłłowskiego oświeconego non alia debetur od nas przyjaźń, jeno żeby żaden eius nominis uczestnik w prośbach swoich nigdy nie uznawał repulsy. Manu duxit do tego przyjacielskiego procesu godnej pamięci KsJMP Hetman;[2] nie utracił na swoim przedsięwzięciu, miawszy zawsze dosyć z naszej przychylności ukontentowania. Nastąpił successive na zarobioną i już in opere existentem amicitiam KsJM Bogusław;[3] sam wyświadczy, że non arguet nas o nieszczyrość w pożyciu z sobą. Jeśli i WKsM zaś zechcesz sinceritatis progredi calle, nie inakszym przywitamy accedentem afektem, jeno jakiśmy przedtym pierwszym o przyjaźń naszą oświadczali konkurentom. Której i stąd zechcesz WKsM sumere, mniemamy, arrhabonem, kiedy prośby swej w potrzebach przez P. Oskierkę[4] do nas dyrygowanych uznasz ukontentowanie; mianowicie w przysłaniu należnych uniwersałów i osobliwym pułkownikowi naszemu[5] około czynienia dalszej inkursyjej w dobra WKsM zakazaniu. Zalecamy się przy tym jako najpilniej łasce WKsM.

Dan w Czehrynie, d. 24 aprilis a. 1657.

WKsM nam WMP życzliwy cale przyjaciel i sługa

Bohdan Chmielnicki,

Het[man] Woj[ska] Zapo[roskiego].

Fol. 233v. L. s.

ADDRESS: JOKs JMP Michałowi Kazimierzowi na Nieświeżu Radziwiłłowi, Podczaszemu WKsL oddać należy.

[1] Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1635–1680): Lithuanian dapifer, 1652; Lithuanian sewer, 1653; Lithuanian cup-bearer, 1656; castellan of Vilnius, 1661; palatine of Vilnius, 1667; Lithuanian vice-chancellor, 1668; and Lithuanian field hetman, 1668.

[2] Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–1655): Lithuanian chamberlain, 1633; Lithuanian field hetman, 1646; palatine of Vilnius, 1653; and Lithuanian grand hetman, 1654.

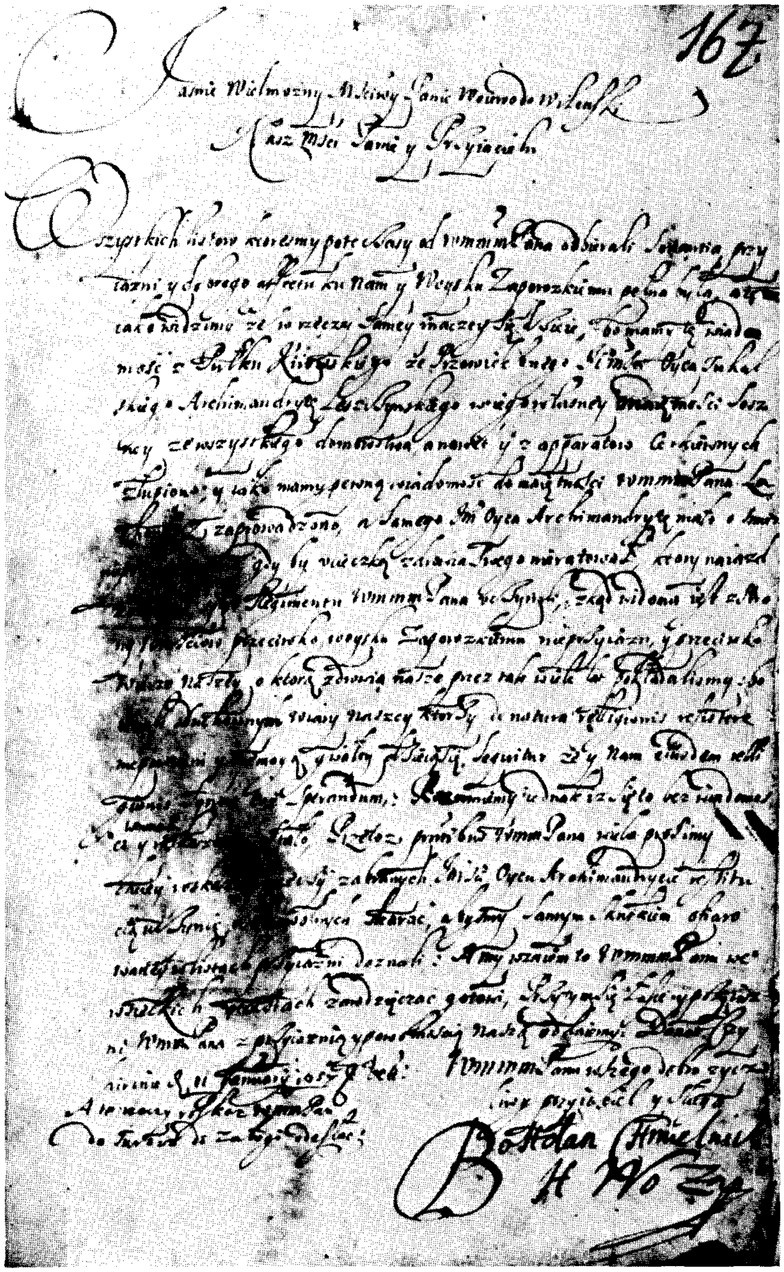
[3] Bogusław Radziwiłł (1620–1669): Lithuanian ensign, 1638; Lithuanian equerry, 1646; and governor of Ducal Prussia, 1657.

[4] Perhaps Szymon Oskierka

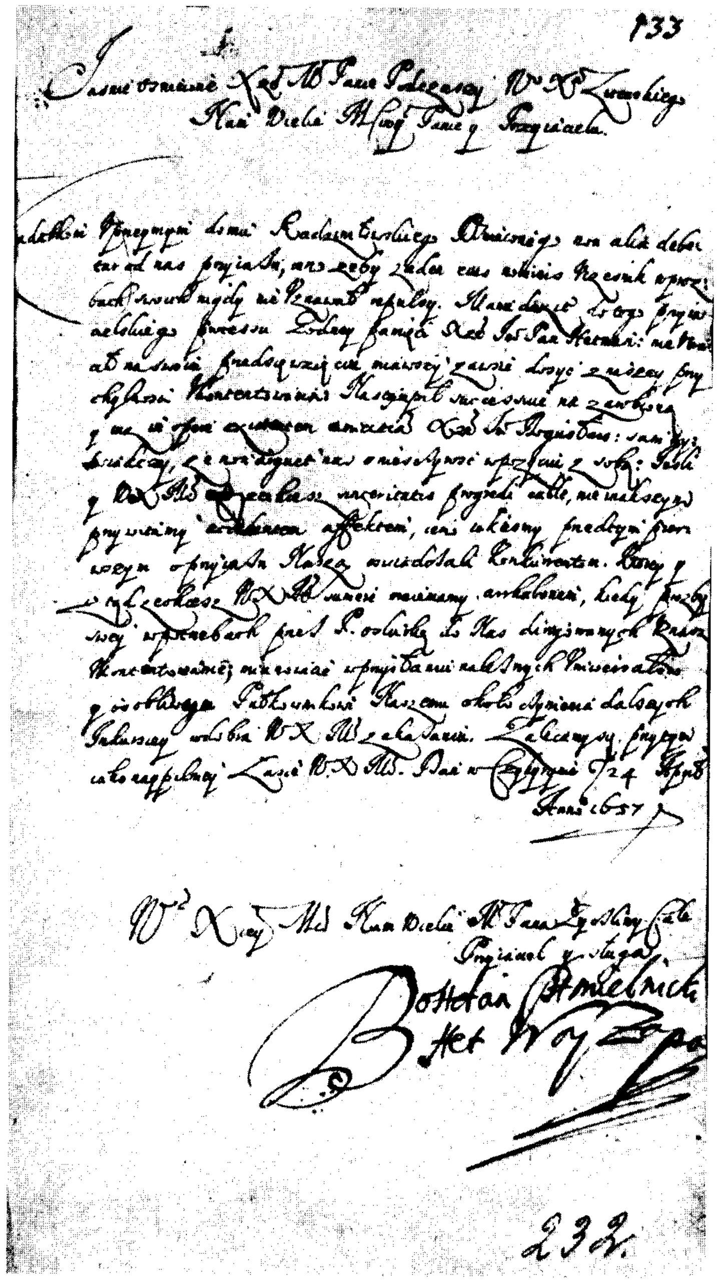
[5] Either Ivan Nechai or Antin Zhdanovych.

## APPENDIX OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| a. | annus |
| d. | dies |
| fn. | footnote |
| fol. | folio |
| JKM | Jego Królewska Mość (Miłość) |
| JM | Jegomość (Jego Miłość) |
| JMP | Jegomość Pan |
| JOKsMP | Jaśnie Oświecony Książę Miłościwy Pan |
| JW | Jaśnie Wielmożny |
| JWMP | Jaśnie Wielmożny Miłościwy Pan |
| JWMPP | Jaśnie Wielmożni Miłościwi Panowie |
| KJM | Król Jegomość |
| KsJM | Książę Jegomość |
| l. s. | locus sigilli |
| M. | Miłościwy, Miłościwa |
| MP | Miłościwy Pan |
| MPP | Miłościwi Panowie |
| MS | Manuscript |
| n. s. | new style |
| O. | Ojciec |
| o. s. | old style |
| P. | Pan, Pani |
| Rzplta | Rzeczpospolita |
| s. v. | styli veteris |
| WKM | Wasza Królewska Mość |
| WKsL | Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie |
| WKsM | Wasza Książęca Mość |
| WM | Waszmość (Wasza Miłość) |
| WMMP | Waszmość Miłościwy Pan |
| WMMPP | Waszmość Miłościwi Panowie |
| WMP | Wielce Miłościwy Pan |
| WMPP | Wielce Miłościwi Panowie |
| + | died |



*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi to Paweł Sapieha*
(Letter no. 5)



*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł*
(Letter no. 6)

# Ivan Franko and Theodor Herzl: To the Genesis of Franko's *Mojsej*

ASHER WILCHER

## *Introduction*

All his life Ivan Franko (1856–1916) studied Judaism and Jews, both historically and in terms of their being part of Galician society. Jews figure prominently in the Ukrainian writer's novels, poetry, and journalism.[1]

In doing research for my Ph.D. dissertation, "Ivan Franko and the Bible,"[2] I found two literary documents in Polish that shed new light on the genesis of Franko's masterpiece *Mojsej* (1893–1905). The two documents are fascinating because they provide information about the personal acquaintance and literary relationship of the Ukrainian Moses — Ivan Franko —and the new Jewish prophet — Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). Since the two documents are from newspapers published in Lviv which are not readily available to Western scholars, I present them in the original as well as in English translation here, together with some background information and analysis.

*Jerusalem*

## I. *Vasyl' Ščurat's Account of the Meeting of Franko and Herzl in Vienna in February 1893*

The genesis of *Mojsej* is associated with the influence exerted on Ivan Franko by the distinguished leader of modern Jewry and prophet of Jewish national revival, Theodor Herzl, whom he met in February 1893 in Vienna.[3] Vasyl' Ščurat (1871–1948), poet and literary scholar, who was then a new student at the university in Vienna and

[1] To this topic Petro Kudrjavcev devoted the study, "Jevrejstvo, jevreji ta jevrejs'ka sprava v tvorax Ivana Franka," in *Zbirnyk prac' Jevrejs'koji istoryčno-arxeohrafičnoji komisiji* (Ukrajins'ka akademija nauk), vol. 2 (Kiev 1929), pp. 1–81.
[2] University of Ottawa, 1977.
[3] Franko was then completing a doctoral program at the University of Vienna.

Franko's roommate, witnessed the meeting of the Ukrainian writer and the founder of the Zionist movement. Forty-four years later (in 1937) he described the event in the Jewish Polish-language newspaper *Chwila,* published in Lviv.

The ideas sounded out during that meeting found their way into some of Franko's pre-"Mojsej" poems, and then into the ideology of "Mojsej." Thus an analogy between the aspirations of the Jewish and Ukrainian nations to freedom, statehood, and independence constitutes the basic concept of "Mojsej." Faith in the power of a lofty idea or a spiritual value to affect the soul of an entire nation, and the image of a self-sacrificing groundbreaker for that idea or value, likely to be stoned by a society as yet unready for it, are expressed in such poems as "Refleksija," "Bulo se try dni pered mojim šljubom," "Blažennyj muž, ščo ide na sud nepravyx." Eventually, they had their highest expression in *Mojsej,* where they affect at once the Ukrainian nation as a whole and the life and work of Ivan Franko himself.

Interestingly enough, in 1898, Herzl himself planned to write a drama entitled "Moses." He never realized that plan, but the outline of the work, as recorded in Herzl's diary, has some points in common with the poem Franko produced:

> The drama is to show how he [Moses] becomes inwardly weary, while retaining his will to the full. He is the leader because he does not want to be a leader. Everything is swayed to his will because he has no personal desires. His aim is not fulfillment, but wandering. Education and training by wandering. . . . Aging, he recognizes ever again Korah, the golden calf, the eternal characteristics of slaves. All these things weary him, and yet he must urge the others forever forward with fresh energy. It is the tragedy of a leader of men who is not a misleader. . . .[4]

The following is the relevant part of Ščurat's memoiristic article:[5]

— Cieszy mię bardzo, że pana poznaję — odezwał się Herzl do Franki. Bo już parę razy wspominał mi o panu mój kolega.[6] Mało powiedzieć: wspominał.

[4] Alex Bein, *Theodor Herzl: A Biography* (London, 1957), pp. 265–66.

[5] Wasyl Szczurat, "Wówczas było to jeszcze mrzonka," *Chwila poranna,* 5 August 1937, p. 5. The title of the article is taken from the motto of Herzl's book *Der Judenstaat*: "If you will it, it is no legend."

[6] Friedrich Samuel [Salamo] Krauss (1859–?), secretary of the "Israelitische Alliance," Slavic ethnographer, publisher and editor of the folkloristic monthly *Am Urquell* published in Vienna. In a letter to Myxajlo Drahomanov of 3 June 1893, Franko mentions his acquaintance with Krauss, who first invited him to his home in Vienna in December 1892. Ivan Franko, *Tvory,* vol. 20 (Kiev, 1956), p. 486.

Naopowiadał mi tyle, że poznać pana osobiście stało się moim najgorętszym życzeniem.

Tu muszę zauważyć, że poznawszy się z Kraussem, na jego własną prośbę byłem u niego z Franką już w grudniu 1892 r. I już wówczas była tam mowa także o Herzlu. Szczegółów jej dzisiaj sobie dobrze nie przypominam, to jedno pamiętam, że wątkiem była idea sprecyzowana przez Herzla cztery lata później w monumentalnym dziele jego p. t. *Judenstaat.* Ona też stała się tematem pierwszej rozmovy Franki z Herzlem . . .

— Bardzo mi się podoba pańska *idea odbudowania państwa żydowskiego,* odezwał się Franko. — Bardzo mię zainteresowała, ponieważ jest jakby *siostrą rodzoną naszej ukraińskiej idei odbudowania państwa ukraińskiego.* Ale czy jedna jak i druga są dzisiaj ziszczalne?

— Czemuby nie miały być? — odpowiedział Herzl. — Wszystko może mieć miejsce na świecie, co się tylko zmieści w ludzkiej głowie.

— W rozumnej głowie! — dodał Franko.

— Tak jest, w rozumnej głowie, bo o takiej tylko warto mówić ludziom, którzy chcą uchodzić za rozumnych, mówił dalej Herzl.

W głowie rozumnej czy rozsądnej zrodzona chocażby najszczytniejsza idea będzie ziszczalna, jak tylko wznieci zapał w najszerszych masach narodu i wydźwignie z łona ich obrońców swoich gotowych chociażby na męczeństwo . . . Mojżeszowie nie rodzą się co dnia, to prawda; oni się kształtują pod uciskiem zewnętrznym . . . A ten ucisk zewnętrzny u nas jest dziesięćkroć większy niż u was. Jeśli wy kiedyś go tak odczujecie jak my, to i u was zaczną się oglądać za swoim Mojżeszem i pewnie znajdą go, chociaż dzisiaj może jeszcze by go ukamieniowali. Zresztą czas wszystko może przyspieszyć.

— Tu przyznaję panu zupełną rację, — zgodził sie po krótkim milczeniu Franko i uścisnął Herzlowi serdecznie rękę.

Co myślał sobie Herzl, mówiąc, że czas wszystko może przyspieszyć, z tego nie zdawałem sobie sprawy; później Franko powiedział mi, że to przyspieszyć może zmiana konstelacji politycznej w Europie. Skutków wielkiej wojny on jeszcze nie przewidywał, bo i samej wojny się nie spodziewał.

Niestety w notatkach moich z tych dawnych czasów nie znalazłem więcej wzmianek o stosunku Franki do Herzla. To tylko dodać mogę, że Herzl, ile razy z nim spotkałem się, zawsze zapytywał mię, czem się Franko zajmuje. Informując go o dawniejszych pracach Franki z zakresu kwestii semickiej, mogłem podawać mu tylko wiadomości powierzchowne. Teraz, kiedy w Kijowie prof. P. Kudrjawcew dał nam specjalne studium na ten temat,[7] mogłoby ono wyglądać inaczej. Ale nawet tak sumiennemu badaczowi, jakim okazał się prof. Kudrjawcew przyśnić się nie mogło, że pomysł najwybitniej-

[7] Ščurat has in mind Kudrjavcev's study cited above, in fn. 1. However, the author had no knowledge as yet about Franko's acquaintance with Herzl.

szego poematu Franki pt. "Mojżesz" wyłonił się ze streszczonej powyżej rozmowy autora z Herzlem.

Z pomysłem tym nosił się Franko długo, bardzo długo. Już w roku 1893 w Wiedniu kreślił szkic poematu, usiłując przedstawić żydowskiego Mojżesza tak, ażeby czytelnik ukraiński mógł poznać w nim losy wodza ukraińskiego. Kiedy mu pierwsze próby nie udawały się rzucił je do kosza. Dopiero po latach, po gorzkich przeżyciach osobistych, które doprowadziły go do znanych nam konfliktów tak ze społeczeństwem ukraińskim, jak i z polskim, odczuł silniej *tragedię życiową wodza żydowskiego* i dał nam poemat tylko na pozór historyczny, bo pełny aktulaności z punktu widzenia losów wodza ukraińskiego narodu. Stało się to w roku 1905, *kto wie, czy i nie w związku właśnie z wrażeniem wywołanym zgonem Herzla . . .*[8]

TRANSLATION

"I am very glad to meet you," Herzl said to Franko, "because my colleague [F. S. Krauss] has already mentioned you to me several times. Mentioned —to say the least. He told me so much about you that to meet you became my dearest wish."

Here I must note that when I first met Krauss, I visited him, at his request, together with Franko, as early as in December 1892. And already then talk at his home was about Herzl, among other topics. I do not now recall all the details of that conversation, but I remember well the theme of the discourse, which was essentially the idea displayed by Herzl in all its particularities four years later, in his monumental work entitled *Der Judenstaat.* The very same idea was also the subject of the first conversation Franko had with Herzl. . . .

"I like your idea of the restoration of the Jewish state very much," Franko said. "It appealed to me strongly because it is [like] a sister to our Ukrainian idea of the restoration of the Ukrainian state. But can they, the one like the other, come true just now?"

"Why shouldn't they?," answered Herzl. "In this world anything that the human mind can comprehend could well happen."

"The rational human mind," added Franko.

"Right, the rational mind, because only about such is it worthwhile to tell people who want to be considered wise," continued Herzl.

"Even the loftiest idea born in a wise or rational human mind can become reality if it inspires the great masses with fervor and raises from amongst their

[8] The fact of Franko's meeting with Herzl and of V. Ščurat's article about it in *Chwila* was first mentioned by A. I. Skoc' in his essay on the genesis of *Mojsej* ("Do henezy poemy I. Franka 'Mojsej'," *Ivan Franko — Statti i materialy,* vol. 12 [1965], pp. 59–60). Skoc' noted the importance of the meeting, but gave no details about the conversation. The meeting was also mentioned by the Ukrainian émigré A. Swirko (Svirko) in the preface to his French translation of *Mojsej*: *Moise* (Brussels, 1969), p. 7.

own midst defenders ready for martyrdom if need be. . . . It is true that Moseses aren't born every day; they are formed under pressure from the outside. . . . And in our case, outside pressure is tenfold stronger than in yours. Should your people feel it one day as we feel it now, then they, too, will begin to look about for their own Moses and they will certainly find him, though today they would probably still stone him to death. Besides, time may precipitate everything."

"Here I agree with you completely," admitted Franko after a moment of silence, and cordially shook Herzl's hand. I did not realize then what it was that Herzl had in mind when he said that time may precipitate everything; later on Franko said to me that all this can be precipitated by a change in the political constellation of Europe. He did not foresee the consequences of the great war, because he did not expect it.

Unfortunately, in my notes taken in those olden days, I have not found any other mention of Franko's attitude toward Herzl. I can only add that whenever I met Herzl, he always asked me what Franko was doing. When informing him about Franko's past works on the Semitic question, I could give him no more than superficial reports. Now that Professor P. Kudrjavcev of Kiev has given us a special study of the subject, this could be handled differently. But even such a scrupulous scholar as Professor Kudrjavcev proved to be could not have dreamed that the idea for Franko's most outstanding epic poem, entitled "Moses," emerged from the conversation of its author with Herzl summarized above.

Franko entertained this idea a long — very long — time. Already in 1893 in Vienna he drafted an outline of the poem, trying to depict the Jewish Moses in such a way that the Ukrainian reader would recognize in him the fate of a Ukrainian leader. When his first attempts did not succeed, he threw his work into the wastebasket. Only years later, after bitter personal experiences had led to his well-known conflicts with both the Ukrainian and Polish communities, did he feel more strongly *the tragedy of the Jewish leader* and give us a poem historical only superficially, because it was full of contemporary import about the fate of a leader of the Ukrainian nation. This happened in 1905 — *who knows if not just in connection with emotions evoked by Herzl's death.*[9]

## II. *Franko's Review of Herzl's* Der Judenstaat

From childhood Ivan Franko was a very assiduous reader. Hardly an important new European book appeared that Franko did not notice. Not only did he commonly read such new books upon publication, but he immediately reacted to them and shared his opinions with the

[9] The text has been translated from the Polish by Dr. Paulina Lewin of Harvard University.

Ukrainian and Polish reading public. His enormous knowledge, exceptional intelligence, and long experience as a reader enabled him to judge a book quickly and properly.

It is no wonder then that Franko not only read Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* soon after it appeared, but immediately recognized its importance and promptly published a lengthy review of it. The chronology is astonishing: Herzl's work was published by Max Breitenstein in Vienna on 14 February 1896, and Franko's review appeared only three weeks later, on 9 March 1896.

Franko's appraisal of Herzl's work reflects two different attitudes. On the one hand, the Ukrainian poet shared to some degree the then prevalent scepticism about the feasibility of Herzl's program for the restoration of the Jewish state in the land of Israel. On the other hand, however, being himself ardently devoted to his people and to their national and political independence, Franko insightfully appreciated the love for his people and faith in them that permeated Herzl's vision. Franko concluded his critique with a virtually prophetic vision of its fulfillment. These same ideas would later be reflected in *Mojsej* — in the passages where Franko pictures the Israelite children and their behavior as evidence of Moses' influence on their souls, and particularly in the poem's last canto, in which the Hebrew youth is first to respond to Joshua's call to the march towards the Promised Land and leads the others to follow.

The full text of Franko's review and its translation appear below:

### *Państwo żydowskie*[10]

Sensacyjną nowością targu książkowego jest obecnie broszura dra Teodora Herzla *Der Judenstaat, Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage.* Prawdę powiedziawszy, sama myśl podniesiona przez dra Herzla nie jest żadną powością. Utworzenie własnego państwa żydowskiego jest odwiecznem marzeniem żydów. Zwłaszcza w naszym wieku, w wieku emancypacji żydów, rozwielmożnienia się kapitalizmu, wzrostu techniki, stojącej na usługach tegoż kapitalizmu i odsuwającej granice niemożliwości daleko na krawędzie horyzontu ludzkiego, myśl o odnowieniu państwa żydowskiego bardzo częstem odbija się echem. Bardzo głośny, entuzjastyczny i olbrzymim talentem nacechowany wyraz dała tej myśli znakomita powieściopisarka angielska, George Eliot, w swej znakomitej powieści "Daniel Deronda." I u

[10] *Tydzień. Dodatek literacki "Kurjera Lwowskiego"* (Lviv), 9 March 1896, pp. 73–74. The translation is by Dr. Paulina Lewin.

nas myśl tę przed dziesięciu laty podnosił i obszernie motywował p. A. Nossig, a odblaskiem tej myśli jest cały ruch sjonistyczny, posiadający w naszym kraju zwłaszcza śród młodzieży żydowskiej, gorących zwolenników. Dr. Herzl podejmuje tę samą myśl z niemniejszym entuzjazmem od swych poprzedników, ale zarazem stara się projekt ów postawić na realnych nogach, nadać mu pozory wykonalności, a nawet utorować drogę do jego wykonania.

Poczciwy chłop z kośćmi, jak to mówią. Idealista jak Bóg przykazał. A do takich, jak wiadomo, należy świat, gdyż jeżeli im się nie uda zawojować tego rzeczywistego, to nic ich nie kosztuje stworzyć sobie nowy i rządić się w nim według swego upodobania. Dr. Herzl przesiąknięty jest ideami nowożytnemi, chociaż elementy wiedzy współczesnej preparuje sobie odpowiednio dla swych celów. Zdaniem jego np. jest mylnem dotychczasowe zapatrywanie ekonomistów społecznych, że podstawą cywilizacji jest praca. Praca — zdaniem dra Herzla — jest czemś konserwatywnem, zastojowem. Tylko duch przedsiębiorczoścci tworzy cudy, tylko spekulacja popycha pracę naprzód, sprowadza wzrastanie dóbr ekonomicznych. Spekulacja — to jest właściwa cywilizacja — w tych słowach można by streścić dewizę historyczną dra Herzla. A jeżeli tak, to naród, obdarzony specjalną zdolnością spekulacyjną jest najpotężniejszym czynnikiem cywilizacji, jest właściwym jej pionierem, godzien jest i może stanąć na czele pochodu cywilizacyjnego. Takim narodem są żydzi.

Niestety, warunki dziejowe złożyły się tak, że żydzi dotychczas nie mogli zająć należnego im miejsca w tym pochodzie. Rozsypani pomiędzy narodami obcemi, pracując razem z niemi, czując się synami rozmaitych ojczyzn, żydzi w wielu miejscach stracili wiarę w swą własną odrębność narodową, ulegli prądom asymilacyjnym. To ich jednak nie uratowało od nieprzyjaźni i napaści, nie zapobiegło wzrostowi antysemityzmu. Antysemityzm jest dziś hasłem powszechnem; w jednych krajach jest on głośny i wrzaskliwy, w innych cichy, utajony w chatach chłopskich. Przysłowia i baśnie ludowe zieją duchem antysemickim. Istniejąca na papierze równoprawność żydów nie jest szanowaną w rzeczywistości; wyższe posady w służbie publicznej prawie wszędzie są dla żydów zamknięte. Żydów prześladują — rozmaicie w rozmaitych krajach, ale systematycznie. Rządy, któreby chciały stanowczo wziąć żydów w opiekę, same by sobie wykopały grób, bo by się stały niepopułarnemi. Nędza gniecie masy żydowskie, ale ta nędza i te prześladowania skupiają żydów, budzą w nich poczucie solidarności, poczucie wspólności narodowej.

Kwestja żydowska, zdaniem dra Herzla — to nie jest kwestja ani wyłącznie wyznaniowa, ani wyłącznie społeczna — to kwestja narodowa.

Żydzi są osobnym narodem. Kwestja żydowska dopóty nie będzie załatwioną, dopóki naród ten nie uzyska swego własnego kraju, swej własnej

gleby, gdzieby mógł sam na siebie, pracować, sam pielęgnować swe tradycje, sam czuć się panem u siebie. Próby kolonizowania żydów nie powiodły się i nie mogły się powieść, bo były sporadyczne, postronne, nieraz przymusowe, nie wynikały z pragnienia samych żydów, nie liczyły się z ich tradycjami dziejowemi.

Żydzi powinni sami wziąć rzecz w swoje ręce i zorganizować swe przesiedlenie w sposób odpowiadający nowoczesnym warunkom. Ani inteligencji, ani kapitału im nie zabraknie. Według planu dra Herzla powinny się zawiązać dwie organizacje: stowarzyszenie żydowskie, któreby wzięło w swe ręce moralną stronę sprawy, a więc organizowanie i przygotowywanie mas żydowskich i paktowanie z mocarstwami celem uzyskania odpowiedniego kraju dla kolonizacji, i kompanja żydowska dla finansowej strony sprawy. Organizacje te powinny uzyskać sobie uznanie przez mocarstwa zupełnej odrębności i neutralności przyszłego państwa żydowskiego, a wówczas można będzie przystąpić do wykonania planu.

Do wyboru są właściwie dwa kraje: Argentyna lub Palestyna, ale autor skłania się widocznie bardziej ku Palestynie z powodu jej odwiecznej tradycji dziejowej. Jeżeliby sułtan turecki przyznał Palestynie zupełną niezależność, mogliby mu żydzi w odpłatę za to uporządkować finanse państwowe. Kolonizacja kraju po wykupieniu wszystkich jego dotychczasowych mieszkańców, odbywałaby się stopniowo, poczynając od najuboższych żydów, którzy niewątpliwie, zdaniem autora, szliby tłumnie do nowej ojczyzny. Za nimi szłaby inteligencja, a wreszcie i bogacze. Pierwszy początek tej kolonizacji byłby zarazem końcem antysemityzmu. Żydzi odeszliby z Europy spokojnie, pozostaliby w Azji przedmurzem cywilizacji, a gdyby czasem który z nich zechciał znowu zawitać do Europy, byłby witany jak drogi dawny znajomy.

Jak widzimy, idylla najzupełniejsza i autor nie zaniedbał też odmalować jej z wszelkimi szczegółami, zwłaszcza co do wewnętrznego urządzenia przyszłej republiki żydowskiej. Nie można jednak odmówić mu tego, że plan jego natchnięty jest gorącą wiarą i gorącą miłością dla swego ludu, zwłaszcza dla tych jego mas gnębionych i upośledzonych. Niestety jednak, zdaje nam się, autor zbyt mało zna te masy, zbyt mocno ufa w produkcyjną siłę spekulacji, i że właśnie o ten szkopuł cały jego plan może się rozbić — rozumie się, jeżeli się znajdą ludzie, którzy gotowi będą dołożyć rąk i kapitałów do jego wykonania. Plan jednak ma niewątpliwie przyszłość przed sobą, a jeżeli dzisiejsze pokolenie okaże sią jeszcze niedojrzałem dla niego, to musi z czasem doczekać się młodzieży, która zechce i potrafi go wykonać.[11]

*Dr. Iw. Franko.*

[11] The review is listed in Franko's bibliography published in *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk,* vol. 3 (Kiev, 1963), p. 423. But, significantly enough, there is no mention that the author of the book Franko reviewed was Theodor Herzl.

TRANSLATION

## *The Jewish State*

The current sensation of the publishing market is Dr. Theodor Herzl's pamphlet, *Der Judenstaat, Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage.* To be truthful, the idea presented by Dr. Herzl is not a new one. The creation of their own Jewish state is the eternal dream of the Jews. Especially in our time — a time of emancipation of the Jews, a time of unrestrained capitalism, of the expansion of technology that serves this same capitalism and pushes against the limits of the horizons of mankind — the idea of the restoration of a Jewish state is echoed very often. George Eliot, the distinguished English novelist, proclaimed this idea loudly and with great enthusiasm and talent in her famous book, *Daniel Deronda.* In our country the idea was brought up and explained at length ten years ago by A. Nossig. The whole Zionist movement, which has fervent followers in our country, mainly among the Jewish youth, is a reflection of this idea. Dr. Herzl brings up the same idea with no less enthusiasm than his predecessors, but at the same time he makes an effort to set this project on firm ground, to give it an appearance of practicability, and even to clear the way for its fulfillment.

A good fellow, decent through and through. An idealist of the kind that follows God's commandments. And to such people, as we know, the world belongs, because if they cannot conquer the real world, they easily create a new one and govern it according to their own fancy. Dr. Herzl is imbued with modern ideas, but he applies the elements of present-day knowledge to his own purposes. In his opinion, for instance, the views hitherto expressed by social economists that labor constitutes the foundation for civilization are wrong. Labor, in Dr. Herzl's opinion, is something conservative, stagnating. Miracles are made solely by the enterprising spirit, and only venture pushes labor forward, bringing a flow of economic riches. Venture is civilization itself. With these words one can summarize Dr. Herzl's historical device. And if it is so, then a nation bestowed with a special gift for venture is civilization's most powerful factor, is indeed its real pioneer, who deserves to and can lead its march. Jews are such a nation.

Regrettably, until now, historical circumstances have not developed so as to allow the Jews to occupy the place in this march that is their due. Dispersed among foreign nations, working together with them, feeling themselves to be sons of different fatherlands, the Jews in many places have lost the belief in their own national distinctness and yielded to the currents of assimilation. This, however, has not saved them from hatred and assaults, has not prevented the increase of antisemitism. Antisemitism is nowadays a common slogan. In some countries it is loud and blatant, in others silent, latent in peasant huts. Folk proverbs and tales breathe antisemitic spirit. The equality

of rights which was granted to the Jews on paper is not respected in reality. Higher positions in public service are closed to the Jews almost everywhere. The Jews are discriminated against, differently in different countries, but systematically. Governments that might want to protect Jews declaredly would thereby dig their own graves, because they would become unpopular. Poverty crushes the Jewish masses, but this very same misery and persecution brings the Jews together and awakes their sense of solidarity, the sense of national community.

In Dr. Herzl's opinion the Jewish problem is not an exclusively religious problem nor an exclusively social one — it is a national problem. The Jews are a separate nation. The Jewish problem will not be solved until this nation reclaims its own country, its own soil to labor on for itself, to cultivate its own traditions — a country where the nation will feel itself to be on its own. Attempts to colonize the Jews have failed, and it could not have happened otherwise, because those attempts were sporadic, extraneous, sometimes compulsory —they did not result from the Jews' own desire, they did not take into account Jewish historical traditions.

The Jews ought to have their own plan and organize their transmigration by means appropriate to modern conditions. They will not lack for intelligence or for capital. According to Dr. Herzl's plan, two organizations must be established: a Jewish association which would take upon itself the moral aspect of the plan, that is, would organize and prepare the Jewish masses and would negotiate with the great powers to obtain land suitable for colonization; a Jewish company which would take care of the financial side of the plan. These organizations must procure recognition by the great powers of the complete independence and neutrality of the future Jewish state, and then one can proceed to the plan's execution.

The choice, strictly speaking, is between two countries, Argentina or Palestine, but the author evidently tends more toward Palestine because of its immemorial historical tradition. If the Turkish sultan were to grant Palestine complete independence, the Jews could offer, as recompense, to put his state finances in order. The colonization of the land, when all its settled inhabitants have been bought out, would be carried out gradually, starting wih the poorest Jews who, in the author's opinion, would be drawn to their new homeland in droves. Next would come the intelligentsia and, eventually, the rich. The beginning of this colonization would also mark the end of antisemitism. The Jews would quietly leave Europe; in Asia they would become the bulwark of civilization, and if one of them would like to visit Europe now and then, he would be welcomed as a dear old acquaintance.

As we can see, this is an absolute idyll, and the author did not fail to depict its every detail, in particular those that concern the internal organization of the future Jewish republic. One cannot deny, however, that his plan is inspired by an eager faith in and a fervent love for his people, especially for those of its

masses that are being oppressed and wronged. But it seems, to our regret, that the author does not sufficiently know these masses, that he reposes too much trust in the productive power of speculation, and that this could well prove to be the flaw that may destroy his whole plan — if, of course, there can be found, to begin with, people ready to apply their efforts and use their capital for its execution. The plan, however, undoubtedly has a future before itself; and if the present generation turns out to be yet immature for it, it is bound to survive to see, in the course of time, young people who will be willing and able to implement it.

Dr. Iv. Franko

# CHRONICLE

## Jan Kozik, *In memoriam*
## (27 October 1934 — 23 November 1979)

WŁADYSŁAW A. SERCZYK and LAWRENCE D. ORTON

*Two remembrances of the late Jan Kozik appear here — one by his Polish compatriot and colleague Władysław A. Serczyk, and the other by an American fellow historian and friend, Lawrence D. Orton. A bibliography of Dr. Kozik's publications follows. Together they are a tribute to an honorable member of our profession. — The Editors*

I.

Jan Kozik, lecturer in the Department of the History of Nationalities of the USSR at the Jagellonian University in Cracow, lived for just 45 years. During the last ten he fought a heroic battle with what proved to be an incurable illness.

He was born on 27 October 1934, in Posadowa, Nowy Sącz district, to a peasant family, the son of Franciszek and Michalina (née Galic) Kozik. He spent his childhood there, except for the several years that his family lived in the west of Poland. His formal study of history began at the Jagellonian. Under the guidance of Professor Henryk Wereszycki, he completed a master's thesis entitled "Muscophilism in Galicia in 1848–1866 against the Background of the Ukrainian National Revival." This first work, highly praised at its defense, clearly reflected the author's scholarly interests as well as his conscientious research, impressive and rapidly acquired erudition, and amazing ability to operate objectively in the difficult field of how national consciousness in multiethnic territories is formed.

From his student days Jan Kozik was indefatigable in his research and in his quest to determine historical truth. Archival and biblio-

graphical work occupied most of his spare time. He was employed at the State District Archive and, later, at the Primary Technical School and Mechanical-Electrical Technicum in Chrzanów. But this made pursuit of his own scholarly interests difficult, because of the distance from Cracow and its scholarly materials and facilities. Deciding to establish ties with the Jagellonian once again, he began doctoral study there in 1963. A doctorate in the humanities was awarded to him in 1967 for the work, "The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia in the Years 1830–1848."* The thesis was recommended for publication by Professor Antoni Podraza and was published in Cracow by the Wydawnictwo Literackie in 1973.

After receiving the doctoral degree, Kozik worked for a year at the Institute of Social Sciences at the Mining-Smelting Academy in Cracow. In 1968 he became lecturer on the history of the USSR at the Jagellonian. From this time on Dr. Kozik's scholarly activities increased, and a number of his publications quickly gained renown in Poland and abroad.

An early study devoted to Silesian contacts with the Jagellonian, written in collaboration with J. Zdrada, was published in the London *Kronika* (1964). Kozik then went on to publish important works dealing with Polish, Czech, and South Slavic influences on, and contacts with, the national movement (particularly Ukrainian) in nineteenth-century Galicia. Two studies, "Ukrainian Territories in the Years 1795–1917," published in the collection *Ukraine: Past and Present* (Cracow, 1971), and "The Ukraine vis-à-vis the Process of Federalization, 1917–1923," included in *From the History of the Soviet State* (Cracow, 1972), present interesting and original syntheses of crucial periods in the history of the Ukraine. Dr. Kozik also wrote biographical sketches of several leading Galician Ukrainian figures for *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexicon, 1815–1950* and for the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*.

In November 1970, Dr. Kozik underwent a difficult heart operation which failed to bring about the hoped for improvement in his health. Nevertheless, he took two exhausting trips to Soviet libraries and archives in search of new materials. The result was a brilliant *Habilitationsschrift* entitled "Reaction and Revolution: Studies in the History of the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia in 1848–1849" (Cracow, 1975), a work which introduced new sources into the field. He

* *Polish titles appear in the appended bibliography.*

conducted courses and seminars, read popular lectures, and often appeared at various branches of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society in Poland. He generously dispensed advice and invaluable bibliographic assistance among his colleagues and foreign visiting scholars alike.

Jan Kozik never avoided difficult or complex subjects. He approached all historical questions with scholarly passion and a determination to ascertain the facts and then communicate them to others. In recognition of his accomplishments, Poland awarded him the Gold Cross of Merit a short time before his death. Historians of the Ukraine in Poland, the Soviet Union, Austria, and the United States knew him well, and to many he was a dear friend.

His disease progressed inexorably, so that in 1978 he was forced to withdraw from active pedagogical and scholarly work. Tired and emaciated, he continued to organize the material he had gathered and to plan further research, hoping that enough strength and time would remain to complete his scholarly work with a synthesizing history of Ukrainians in nineteenth-century Galicia. Unfortunately, death came too soon.

Dr. Kozik's family and friends carry the memory of his personal courage, perseverance, and willingness to sacrifice comfort for that principle so important to historians: never to be false to one's own knowledge of the past.

Jan Kozik is buried in the family crypt at the church cemetery in Nowy Sącz-Zawada.

Władysław A. Serczyk
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Translated from the Polish by Roman Koropeckyj

II.

Jan Kozik was by nature quiet and unpretentious. The values he cherished most were personal and professional integrity and devotion to family and friends. Jan refused to make the "little compromises" that too many Polish academics did in the 1960s and 1970s for the sake of material betterment, apparent prestige, and career advancement. He never bent his scholarship to please prevailing doctrinal prerequi-

sites. He remained faithful to the professional values and discipline he learned from his first and only mentor, Professor Henryk Wereszycki. Not surprisingly, Kozik's scholarship earned greater recognition among scholars abroad than in his native Poland.

I first met Janek in the summer of 1974. I had come to Poland to research Polish-Ukrainian relations in 1848 in Galicia. Naturally, I wished to consult with Jan Kozik, whose seminal work on the pre-1848 national awakening of the Galician Ukrainians had appeared a year earlier. I soon learned that the topic I envisaged had been done — by Kozik himself — in a sequential, second book on the Ukrainian national movement during the revolutions of 1848–1849, which was about to be published. And so I lost a topic, but gained a dear friend. Over the next several years, when I visited Cracow, invariably Janek would offer to share his one-room flat in the city. Many a time, we talked into the early morning. I learned much from him about the academic callousness and opportunism in People's Poland. But most of all I came to know well and appreciate this man of deep conviction and professional commitment.

Like many historians, Janek had come to his field of specialization by chance, as a master's candidate seeking a suitable thesis topic in Professor Wereszycki's seminar. That initial choice became a vocation. Nothing in Janek's background suggested that he would devote his scholarly life to the history of the Galician Ruthenes and the tortuous relationship between Poles and Ukrainians. Janek had chosen a subject definitely not easy for an aspiring scholar in the new Poland. In the immediate postwar years, Polish historians had been discouraged from exploring the history of the peoples of Poland's former eastern possessions. This task presumably would be handled by their Soviet colleagues. Moreover, for Poles the requisite sources for such study were seemingly beyond reach. But Janek persisted, and eventually in the early 1970s he became the first non-Soviet scholar to secure access — even though it was carefully prescribed — to the archives in the former Galician capital of Lviv. The fruits of these researches were first presented in his pioneering articles and monograph on the Ukrainian national movement in 1848–1849. Not only was his work the most comprehensive and authoritative to appear on this subject, but also it was distinguished by a critical objectivity and a detachment notably lacking in earlier works. As the breadth of Janek's knowledge and understanding of the intricate national relationships in nineteenth-

century Galicia grew, he became convinced that a precondition to overcoming many years of mistrust and bitterness was to provide an honest and forthright account of the Galician Ukrainians' experience. His profound hope was that his works might make a modest contribution to surmounting prejudice and to fostering understanding among future generations of Poles and Ukrainians.

Janek bore the pain and hardship of debilitating illness for the last ten years of his life with dignity and without complaint. Never to me did he speak in bitterness of the mishandled initial operation and ensuing treatment that subsequently rendered his heart ailment irremediable.

In failing health and against the advice of his doctors, Janek availed himself of an opportunity to return to Lviv and Kiev in the winter and spring of 1978 to gather materials on another critical phase of Polish-Ukrainian relations in Galicia, the years of Michał Bobrzyński's viceroyalty on the eve of World War I. Although gravely weakened physically, Janek endured the rigors of that stay and completed his research.

My last visit with Janek was in August 1978 at his family's home in Zawada near Nowy Sącz, together with his devoted friend and fellow Cracow historian, Jerzy Zdrada. The toll taken by his exhausting stay in the Soviet Union and the ravages of advancing disease had altered his appearance but not his spirit. Although he knew that he had little time to live, we spoke only of our families, our friends, and especially of our desires and hopes for work still unfinished and future projects. I took leave of him that day in awe of his mettle and courage in the face of such adversity, and especially of the quiet fortitude of his beloved wife Bogusława and his two adoring daughters. I am richer today for having known, even for only a few years, Jan Kozik, a good person and a fine scholar.

Lawrence D. Orton
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## Abbreviations

*KH — Kwartalnik Historyczny*
*ÖBL — Österreichisches Biographisches Lexicon, 1815–1950*
*PH — Przegląd Historyczny*
*PSB — Polski Słownik Biograficzny*
*SH — Studia Historyczne*
*Zeszyty Naukowe — Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne.*

# REVIEWS

ISTORIIA KNIGI I IZDATEL'SKOGO DELA: SBORNIK NAUCHNYKH TRUDOV. [Edited by *S. P. Luppov* et al.] Leningrad: Izdatel'skii otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR, 1977. 158 pp. 1,000 copies. 63 kopecks.

This volume is the fifth in a series begun by the Library of the Academy of Sciences in 1965. The first three were entitled *Sbornik statei i materialov Biblioteki Akademii nauk po knigovedeniiu* (1965–1973); the fourth volume appeared in a different format under the title *Rukopisnye i redkie pechatnye knigi v fondakh Biblioteki AN SSSR: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (1976). Since its appearance in 1977, however, four other volumes have appeared in the same series: *Russkie biblioteki i chastnye knizhnye sobraniia XVI–XIX vekov: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (1979); *Knigopechatanie i knizhnye sobraniia v Rossii do serediny XIX veka: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (1979); *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii v XVI–XIX vekakh: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (1980); *Knigotorgovoe i bibliotechnoe delo v Rossii v XVII — pervoi polovine XIX v.: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (1981). Nonetheless, the six essays contained in *Istoriia knigi i izdatel'skogo dela* and covering the sixteenth through nineteenth century claim our special interest because of their particular relevance to Ukrainian studies.

The first essay, by B. V. Sapunov of the Hermitage, attempts to study the issue of Ukrainian cultural influences on seventeenth-century Muscovy. For his study Sapunov searched 93 inventories of books (*opisi*), which listed a total of 11,261 volumes. His figures may be summarized as follows: the 66 church *opisi* contained a total of 1,464 volumes, of which 14 were Ukrainian and 47 were non-Russian; the ten monastic inventories yielded 6,387 volumes, of which 210 were Ukrainian and 860 non-Russian; the sixteen *opisi* of private collections registered 2,113 volumes, of which 71 were Ukrainian and 540 non-Russian. Sapunov finds that the library of Patriarch Nikon contained a total of 1,297 volumes, of which 249 volumes were Ukrainian and 837 of foreign provenance. Unfortunately, Sapunov does not discuss the specific language and provenance of the foreign titles.

Conservatively estimated, then, the Ukrainian volumes totaled 544 or one-quarter, of the non-Muscovite imprints (2,284) surveyed. Of this number,

496 were published in Kiev, 29 in Ostrih, 4 in Lviv, and 1 in Chernihiv, while ten were anonymous and four in manuscript. Despite the sizeable number of these volumes, Sapunov states that they constituted only about a third of all the titles published in the Ukraine during this period. The books moved to Moscow quickly, usually spreading to the most far-reaching parts of the tsardom within two to three years after publication. The following types of books were most heavily represented: the *Psalter* (111 volumes), *Kanonik* (91), *Zertsalo* (13), *Polustav* (12), and the Bible (19). Sapunov concludes that the *opisi* should be studied carefully, because they register works that may have been lost and that therefore are unknown in Slavic descriptive bibliography.

The second essay, by the late Sokrat Aleksandrovich Klepikov, treats the little studied theme of full-skin Ukrainian bindings during the period 1500–1750. He concludes that Ukrainian bookbinders, unlike those in Muscovy, preferred the use of subject (person or teratological) bindings. The third essay, by Olena Opanovych, comes as a pleasant surprise, since ten years have passed since her last publication in the Ukraine. Her lengthy essay begins with a short history of ownership and dedicatory inscriptions and of the six elements normally comprising such inscriptions. She then attempts to survey the diverse ways in which this information can be used for Ukrainian cultural, economic, and social history. In the concluding portion, Opanovych deals with scribes (pp. 37 ff.), the making of manuscript bindings (p. 43 ff.), and the most important manuscript monument of this period, the Peresopnytsia *Gospel*.

The fourth essay in the collection, written by I. F. Martynov on the basis of the materials collected by M. I. Martynova (his late mother), an "engineer by profession and a student of the book by avocation," is a straightforward account of the career of E. K. Vil'kovskii, son of a Ukrainian squire. In 1775, after serving in various official capacities, Vil'kovskii became assistant manager of the bookstore of the Academy of Sciences under S. G. Domashnev (1743–90). After Domashnev's withdrawal in 1781, the store continued to operate under Vil'kovskii's management until 1784. On the encouragement of his fellow Ukrainian, V. G. Ruban, Vil'kovskii began in 1777 to publish some of his own titles and, after severing relations with the academy, established his own publishing house together with his son-in-law, Galchenkov. One of the staples of Vil'kovskii's enterprise was his service as the official printer for the Commission for the Establishment of Popular Schools. Vil'kovskii continued to be active in publishing until 1800, when he disappears from the extant sources.

The essay by I. E. Barenbaum is also a cameo of a solitary printer. Between 1863 and 1865 the printing house in question was owned jointly by Rogal'skii and F. S. Sushchinskii (1827–?), and after 1865 by Sushchinskii himself. In 1869 he opened a library, followed in 1876 by a bookstore. His activity as a printer continued to 1890. The physical plant used by Sushchinskii had once

belonged to Iosafat Ohryzko (1826–1890), who was arrested for his part in the Polish uprising. Sushchinskii continued the Ohryzko tradition, between 1864 and 1874 printing more than 120 books in diverse fields, of which 12 were "arrested" and destroyed (pp. 101–102). The remainer of the essay is concerned with an analysis of these titles, the best-known of which is perhaps Bervi-Flerovskii's *On the Condition of the Working Class in Russia* and which include works by Vodovozov, Cebrikova, Shashkova, and Toliverova, as well as one literary miscellany.

The last two essays in the collection are by S. P. Luppov and S. R. Dolgova. In his contribution Luppov publishes the *uchetnaia kniga* (register book) of the Synodal typography, which was kept by Sergei Sidorov from March 1739 to February 1741. Although the publishing activities of the Synodal typography stopped temporarily in 1727, the bookstore remained open and large stocks of duplicates were still available for sale. According to the register book, Sidorov sold 924 books and individual sheet maps for a total of 313 rubles, 41 kopecks. Information is given about the types of material sold, as well as the wide variety of individuals who bought it.

Finally, Dolgova has published a portion of the Senate protocols, which includes a discussion of the early project of L. Blumentrost for the founding of a Senate typography.

While the overall quality of the contribution is high, the volume is flawed by some of the traditional weaknesses of Soviet historiography, as well as by some technical shortcomings. This is evident in the essays by Sapunov, Barenbaum, and Martynov. In his attempt to characterize the long-standing relations between Muscovy and the Ukraine, Sapunov claims that Muscovite censors "saw in the Ukrainian printed book an all-Russian cultural phenomenon, close and understandable to the Muscovite reader" (p. 17; cf. also pp. 11, 14). On the next page, he falsely identifies that which was anti-Catholic as progressive (although note his qualification on p. 20). The essays by Martynov (p. 92) and Barenbaum argue, on circumstantial evidence, that Vil'kovskii and Sushchinskii belonged to the "democratic" camp in the Russian political spectrum. Unlike some of their better-known contemporaries (Radishchev and Chernyshevskii), neither Vil'kovskii nor Sushchinskii is known to have articulated his political or social position early. Moreover, at the outset Martynov contends that one reason for Vil'kovskii's great interest to readers is his typicality. In yet another place (p. 88, paragraph 2), he stresses that it was precisely his progressive political and social views that made him atypical for the age. Another problem is that some of the essays are far too cryptic. Luppov might have conveyed to the uninitiated reader a fuller sense of the importance of his find. Many notables — for example, the Petrine polemicist Petr Krekshin (1684–1763) — are listed (p. 126) as clients of the Synodal book store: information on some of these figures should have been given in the notes to the document.

These shortcomings and some misprints (e.g., p. 22, line 13) should not

obscure the importance of this collection to the study of Russian and Ukrainian printing. Virtually all of the essays are based on previously untapped material and therefore go far toward substantiating and even correcting general histories of printing (see p. 111, fn. 58). Soviet studies of the book have become integrated into the much larger discipline of informatics and bibliology (*knigovedenie* or *knyhoznavstvo*), so that serious research in the field requires skills associated with such disciplines as history, literature, and social thought. Western scholars — especially Ukrainists — must begin to pay closer attention to the work of their Leningrad colleagues.

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PAMIĘTNIK KIJOWSKI. Vol. 4. London: Orbis Books [for "Koło Kijowian"], 1980. 212 pp.

The history of Polish-Ukrainian relations is not a happy one. Therefore, the appearance of any publication dealing with these relations that is essentially dispassionate and sound is welcome. The fourth, and probably final, volume of *Pamiętnik Kijowski,* published by the "Koło Kijowian" in London, is such a work.

Established in 1953 in London, Koło Kijowian is a Polish émigré organization of people who were in some way connected to the Right-Bank Ukraine before World War I. Unlike other organizations of this type, it has been consistently concerned with cultural rather than political aims. The organization has concentrated on collecting historical materials illustrating the Polish contribution to the cultural and economic life of this part of the Ukraine, organizing lectures (often by Ukrainian specialists), and publishing works devoted to these questions. The organization's publishing record over the years is quite impressive, comprising more than 60 articles, some 150 illustrations, maps, genealogical tables — altogether, over 1,000 pages of print.

The materials included in the fourth volume of *Pamiętnik Kijowski* fall into several categories. Quite expectedly, the volume devotes considerable space to obituaries of notable Poles from the Ukraine who have died during the last few years: Zygmunt Andrzejowski, Bohdan Żebrowski, Józef Olechnowicz, Ludwika Rudzka. Next come several items of interest to historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Stanisław Sobotkiewicz's brief article on Tadeusz Kościuszko's residence in Podolia in 1790–1791; Michał Leszczyc-Grabianka's biographical note on Tadeusz Grabianka (1740–1807), a member of a prominent Podolian family who, as a mystic, founded the sect "New Israel" which had an important influence on Polish messianism; and fragments

of the memoirs of Zygmunt Starorypiński pertaining to Szymon Konarski's conspiracy in the Ukraine in the late 1830s, including a list of the convicted participants. By far the largest part of the volume is reminiscences of Polish life in the Ukraine from about 1880 to 1920. Of these, perhaps the most interesting and revealing are fifty pages of the memoirs of General Zygmunt Podhorski (1891–1960) covering some of his pre-World War I recollections, and the reminiscences of Bohdan Olizar and Emil Moszyński, documenting the events of the winter of 1917–1918 on their families' estates which signaled the final collapse of the centuries-old, Polish-dominated social and economic order.

The volume includes some thirty old photographs, illustrating various scenes from the life of the Ukrainian countryside in the early twentieth century.

The fourth volume of *Pamiętnik Kijowski,* like the preceding volumes, definitely deserve the attention of any social historian of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ukraine and Poland.

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UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM IN THE POST-STALIN ERA: MYTH, SYMBOLS AND IDEOLOGY IN SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY. By *Kenneth C. Farmer.* Studies in Contemporary History, vol. 4. The Hague, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1980. xii + 241 pp. $36.50.

Kenneth C. Farmer's study of Ukrainian nationalism after Stalin is an extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of the current situation in the largest non-Russian Soviet republic. Unfortunately, the author's reluctance to repeat information published by other scholars has resulted in a book that delivers considerably less than what its title implies. Instead of a survey of Ukrainian nationalism in the post-Stalin era, Professor Farmer gives us much interesting information and valuable insights on an issue which still awaits definitive treatment.

A serious problem with the work is apparent from the author's account of his research design (pp. 34–35): he examined the Radio Liberty "red archive" in Munich, scanned the *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press,* and went through all the Ukrainian *samvydav* documents available in the West as of 1976. The trouble with such an approach is that, except for the *samvydav* documents, the author depended upon someone else's selection of materials. A trip to Munich to go through the files of Radio Liberty is usually a rewarding experience, but

it is no substitute for laboriously leafing through bound volumes of *Literaturna Ukraina, Vitchyzna, Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal,* etc.

The volume begins with an excursion into communications theory that establishes the framework for the study. Fully a third of the text is devoted to a survey of the literature, the author's framework, and a recapitulation of the official Soviet theory of proletarian internationalism. If the book is intended to serve as an aid for scholars not primarily occupied with Ukrainian affairs — and the title makes it quite likely that it will be one of the first books non-specialists consult for information on the Ukrainian "problem" in the USSR — a more useful approach would have been to include a brief background survey of Soviet Ukrainian politics, with emphasis on the Shelest and Shcherbyts'kyi periods.

The book's most serious structural flaw is apparent in chapter three, which has recently been republished in a slightly altered version as "Politics and Culture in the Ukraine" in the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy* (vol. 14, pp. 180–208). Here the author attempts to deal with three of the most important elements in the Ukrainian national revival of the 1960s: historiography, literature and culture, and the origin of the dissident movement in the curtailment of officially sanctioned modes of expression. Treatment of each of these three elements should have been a separate chapter in a more thorough study of Ukrainian nationalism. As it is, the author does little more than define problems for further research. Both the history and literary sections should have presented a far more detailed discussion of the 1920s. Treatment of the period remains the central bone of contention between reformists and their opponents, since communism is an essentially conservative system in which legitimacy depends on Leninist precedents, and the main advantage reformists have is that during the 1920s the Soviet Union was not yet a full-blown totalitarian society. The twenty-five pages devoted to the origins of the dissident movement could easily have been expanded to constitute a full chapter.

The chapter on the issue of language policy is, next to the treatment of dissidents, the best part of the book. Even here, however, there are some problems, particularly with the author's treatment of Antonenko-Davydovych's advocacy of rehabilitating the letter *g* in Ukrainian. This is more than just a problem of linguistic "authenticity," but a question pregnant with political implications about the degree to which the Skrypnyk era is a precedent for later policy. After all, the most specific charge of "nationalism" Postyshev made at the time of Skrypnyk's disgrace in 1933 was that Skrypnyk had advocated the use of this henceforth forbidden letter.

Since the author systematically read through all available pre-1976 documents on the Ukrainian dissident movement, it is not surprising that the final chapter on dissidents is the most useful and stimulating in the book. Aside from the author's failure to mention Anton Koval's open letter of 1969 — one

of the few real programmatic statements of the Ukrainian dissident movement — Farmer presents the reader with a complete, if brief, overview. Particularly interesting are the statistical analyses of ages, occupations, birthplaces, and places of arrest of known dissidents.

Whatever shortcomings may be found in Professor Farmer's work pale beside the consideration that this is the first serious monograph to appear on an issue crucial to understanding the contemporary Soviet Union. It will remain a standard against which further research can be measured, and it has performed a great service by defining problems which other scholars must now investigate.

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ETHNIC NATIONALITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON A HISTORICAL PROBLEM. By *Rocky L. Rockett.* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981. xiii + 171 pp.

In these days of publish or perish some may find solace in the fact that even a major publishing house occasionally lets a real howler slip into print. In a work which purports to apply sociological analysis to the Soviet Union's "ethnic" nationalities (is there any other kind?), the author of this book managed to ignore almost all of the most relevant literature on Soviet nationalities as well as the most important works on the sociology of nationalism.

The author is evidently not burdened with excessive research tools or knowledge of the field in which he has chosen to write. Except for one Russian-language reference to the 1970 census, he cites only works available in English. Among theoretical works on the sociology of nationalism, few would ignore Karl Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication* or Anthony Smith's two books, *Theories of Nationalism* and *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*: Dr. Rockett is evidently unaware of their existence. Nor does he seem to be aware of the considerable Soviet literature on ethnic processes. It is difficult to even conceive of a serious study of Soviet nationalities which does not make use of V. I. Kozlov's *Natsionalnosti SSSR (Ètno-demograficheskii obzor),* as the author would have discovered had he so much as read the footnotes to those works which he does cite.

Dr. Rockett makes no attempt to survey all Soviet nationalities, confining himself to Russians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Armenians, Jews, and Uzbeks. Such an approach could have been productive had it been accompanied by a concise but solid survey of Soviet nationalities policy in general. What the author provides in the way of an overview is, unfortunately, quite superficial.

For example, the complex period of indigenization (1923–1933) is given only two hardly intelligible paragraphs (p. 109) ending with a quotation from Richard Pipes to the effect that the Bolsheviks afforded fewer opportunities for self-rule than even the Russian autocracy. This might well be true for the period before 1923, the date at which Pipes' study ends, but hardly for, say, Soviet Ukraine under Skrypnyk. The author has so little familiarity with the relevant literature that he is unaware an alternative view might be possible. Since the collectivization of agriculture culminated in the complete reversal of the previous nationalities policy, the fact that the author devotes two pages to it raises the hope that he makes at least some kind of point in this regard. However, the indifferent account he provides is only tenuously connected to his main theme by the fact that the number of Ukrainians and Kazakhs dropped significantly and "because thousands [!] of non-Russians worked as peasants and subsequently came under attack by the Soviets' 'dekulakization' program" (p. 114).

Since Ukrainians represent the largest and historically most self-assertive of the USSR's non-Russian nationalities, treatment of them is a good indicator of the level of the author's scholarship. One seeks in vain for such relevant works as Basil Dmytryshyn's *Moscow and the Ukraine,* R. S. Sullivant's *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine,* John Armstrong's *The Ukrainian Revolution,* George Luckyj's *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine,* Hryhory Kostiuk's *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine,* Yaroslav Bilinsky's *The Second Soviet Republic,* the works of Arthur Adams, Peter Potichnyj, Bohdan Bociurkiw, Steven Guthier, or Iwan Majstrenko. The author has also apparently failed to use such relevant journals as *Slavic Review, The Slavonic and East European Review, Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Canadian Slavonic Papers, Nationalities Papers* (devoted exclusively to the study of Soviet nationalities), *The Journal of Ukrainian Studies,* or *Harvard Ukrainian Studies.* To the period between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War II, the author devotes just over one page, citing only Jurij Borys's dissertation, which ends with the end of the Civil War, and John Armstrong's study of Ukrainian nationalism during World War II. Indicative of the general level of the work is the following passage: "Ukrainian nationals obtained important government and academic posts thereby enabling them to promote an independent Ukrainian culture. Avowed 'cultural nationalists' such as Professor Mikhail Hrushevsky, Alexander Shums'kyi, and later Nicholas Skrypnyk, embraced Soviet communism and received such appointments." One hardly knows whether to laugh or cry. Individuals like Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi were given appointments because the regime decided to promote Ukrainian culture in an attempt to legitimize itself. Oleksander Shums'kyi and Mykola Skrypnyk were never avowed nationalists, cultural or otherwise; they always denied changes that they were nationalistic. Skrypnyk did not embrace communism later than Hrushevs'kyi, because Hrushevs'kyi *never* embraced communism, and Skryp-

nyk was an old Bolshevik whose membership in Russian Social-Democracy dated from the turn of the century and whose record of service to the Soviet Ukrainian government included heading it in the spring of 1918 when it was at war with the Central Rada led by Hrushevs'kyi. The author is not even aware that he has used two different systems for transliterating surnames, while rendering one first name in its Russian and the other two in their English equivalents.

The fact that such a book could be published perhaps indicates that some publishers are so determined to satisfy the public's curiosity about the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union that they will issue anything which has an appropriate title and enough jargon.

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Die ukrainischen Andreasbräuche und verwandtes Brauchtum. By *Bohdan Georg Mykytiuk.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979, 341 pp.

Mykytiuk's publication stems from a Ph.D. dissertation. It is divided into three main parts: (a) Ukrainian St. Andrew's day customs, (b) related customs, and (c) texts of interviews with his informants. The monograph also contains an introduction and a number of reference sections, including footnotes, abbreviations, a list of sources and bibliography, an appendix providing the dates of ecclesiastic and secular feast days, the traditional Ukrainian lenten periods, a variant of one of the musical notations and a photograph portraying a group of girls gathered for spinning and fortune telling in Ruski Krstur on the eve of St. Andrew's in 1941.

This monograph demonstrates that the author is familiar with the main branches of folklore studies: collecting, classifying, analyzing and formulating conclusions. On the basis of material he himself collected and on that in earlier collections, he has been able to set up a list of activities that constitute Ukrainian St. Andrew's day customs. He has provided an analysis of these activities and pointed out kindred customs and rites relating to the seasons within the calendar as well as those referring to human transitions. Finally, he has analyzed the above activities further and has come up with some theoretical conclusions.

Since many Ukrainian folklore publications in the West are based on rehashed secondary sources, Mykytiuk is to be commended for having taken the trouble to go into the field to collect primary material. The vast majority of the field work was carried out in the years 1965, 1967, and 1968 in Yugoslavia, where the author obtained forty-three texts from such localities as Andrijevci,

Bikić Dol, Đurđevo, Inđija, Kaniža, Kucura, Lipovljani, Novi Sad, Rus'ke, Ruski Krstur, and Trnjani.

The texts range from a few lines to over ten pages of information. For example, the following is the testimony of Maria Zubko of Kucura, which yielded only one of the sixteen potential St. Andrew's days activities, i.e., hemp sowing:

Mein Grossvater hiess Andreas. Am Vorabend des Andreasfestes gingen die Mädchen dorthin, wo ein Andreas wohnte, um Hanf vor die Fenster zu streuen. Der Grossvater ging hinaus und rief ihnen zu: "Möget ihr alle einen Mann finden!" Da liefen sie davon. (Gingen auch Sie am Andreasfest zum Orakeln?) Ich bin nicht mehr gegangen. Zu meiner Zeit hat es diesen Brauch nicht mehr gegeben. Ich habe nur von meinem Grossvater davon gehört, er hat mir davon erzählt. Jetzt gibt es auch keine Spinnstuben mehr. (p. 267)

On the other hand, the following index entry describes the longest text collected, in Rus'ke from Marija Piroš. As can be seen, her information was not confined only to St. Andrew's day customs:

Heiratsorakel am Vorabend des Andreasfestes (Zettelgreifen, Tellerheben, Apfelorakel, Hanfsäen als Traumorakel); Polaz-Brauch an hohen Feiertagen im Winter und zu Ostern; besondere Formen des Polaz-Brauchs am Fest Mariä Opferung und zu Andreas; Heiratsorakel am Vorabend des Nikolausfestes (Pflöckezählen); Abwehrzauber zu Georgi; Heiratsorakel am Heiligen Abend (Horchorakel, Kranzwerfen); Kräutersammeln zu Johanni; Spinnstubenbräuche (gewöhnliche und festliche Zusammenkünfte, Arbeitsenthaltung an "halben" Feiertagen, Maskierungen und Hochzeitsinszenierungen); heitere Spiele der Jugendlichen bei der Totenwache. (p. 205)

Mykytiuk has classified the material pertaining to St. Andrew's day customs into the following categories: (1) preparation for St. Andrew's day, (2) fortune telling pertaining to marriage, (3) other fortune telling, (4) Kalyta customs, (5) the group meal, (6) mischievous activities, (7) songs, (8) marriage make-believe, (9) love incantations, (10) the binding and sewing together of young pairs, (11) the magician's den, (12) girls' conjuring rounds, (13) fire customs, (14) charms against various forms of evil, (15) magic of fertility, and (16) magic of initiation — the first visitor.

This classification is based not only on the material the author collected from his informants in Yugoslavia and from a few persons interviewed in Germany, but also on his very thorough review of the critical literature available. These include very specific studies such as V. Ščerbakivs'kyj's "Kalyta" and "Malama," the more general and popularly written surveys of Ukrainian calendar customs published by Kylymnyk and Voropaj, as well as recorded oral prose.

Mykytiuk's comparison of the above sixteen categories (with the exception of the preparation for St. Andrew's day) with other calendar customs and with rites of passage indicates that solstice rituals can be regarded as pivotal, insofar as other calendar customs and transition rites are concerned.

It seems that no publication can be impervious to typographical errors. For example, "Nachbarfester" (p. 170) should read "Nachbarfenster," "Soff" (p. 180) should read "Stoff," "Bermann" (p. 193) should read "Bergmann," and "hnieten" (p. 268) should be "knieten."

This monograph is a worthwhile contribution to the study of Ukrainian folk customs which will be appreciated by the growing number of young people of Ukrainian origin looking for their roots. It can also serve as an example of research for students of Ukrainian folklore, a discipline in which precious little is being done in the West, with the exception, perhaps, of Robert Klymasz's work among Ukrainian Canadians.

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RUSSIAN CHURCH SINGING. Vol. 1: ORTHODOX WORSHIP AND HYMNOGRAPHY. By *Johann von Gardner*. Translated by *Vladimir Morosan*. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980. 146 pp., 4 plates. $5.95, paper.

Russian scholarship in the field of Russian church singing, established on a scientific basis by Odoevskij and Razumovskij in the 1860s, flourished until the Bolshevik seizure of power. Thereafter, it was kept alive by a handful of dedicated individuals, notably the late M. V. Bražnikov in the USSR and Johann von Gardner (Ivan Alekseevič Gardner) in the West. Gardner's numerous publications are well known to serious students of Slavic church singing traditions. The existence in manuscript of a comprehensive book-length survey, rumored for some time, was confirmed by the publication of some chapters from it in German translation several years ago.[1] An English-language version commences publication with the volume here under review. Neither the number of volumes contemplated nor their scope has been announced. The contents of the first volume are essentially the same as those of the German publication, omitting the annotated bibliography, which will be included in the final volume; one hopes that an index will appear there, too.

The translation reads well and seems quite satisfactory, insofar as one can judge without access to the original (it is said that another publisher plans to

[1] Johann von Gardner, *System und Wesen des russischen Kirchengesanges*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, 12 (Wiesbaden, 1976).

issue the work in Russian). The decision to conform all Russian words and titles to the new orthography, when quoting in Cyrillic, and employ the old for Slavonic alone is questionable. The practice of indicating the stress in Russian surnames, as in some of Gardner's German-language articles, should have been adopted here, and extended to the Slavonic and Russian technical terms. The translation of these terms is careful and on the whole successful; in view of Western liturgical usage, "Ordinary Hymns" would be preferable to "Common Hymns" (p. 120) for *Obixod,* whereas it seems hard to improve on "Common Chant" (p. 110 — possibly "Usual Chant"?) for *obyčnyj napěv,* although it has no particular connection with the "Common of Saints."

Of the book's four chapters, only the last two concern specifically Russian or East Slavic developments. The first two deal with relevant features of Orthodox liturgical genres and structures (applicable also, of course, to Byzantine-rite Catholic practice, where this has been maintained in its integrity). The first chapter includes discussions of the essence of church singing (Gardner insists on its theological, and not merely aesthetic and musical, character); the content of Byzantine-rite hymnography; styles of choral and cantorial performance; types of hymns according to liturgical function; the contrafact system; levels of musical performance, including the psalmodic recitative and ekphonesis; the eight-mode system; aesthetic considerations; and the influence of various national cultures. The discussion is thorough and well organized. Technical terms are given in Greek and Slavonic; the definitions are careful, clear, and generally adequate. The definition of *idiomelon* (p. 53) is unexceptionable, but further discussion is needed to avoid confusing readers who may encounter the generic *samoglasen* tones of East Slavic usage.

The second chapter, written for Western readers, consists mainly of outlines of the major Byzantine-rite services, somewhat similar to those of Nikol'skij. The calendrical cycles receive less attention.[2] A minor slip occurs in a footnote (p. 57): "in Greek . . . chanting many intervals . . . do not exactly correspond to the half- and whole-steps of the modern equally-tempered scale"; in fact, they do not correspond to any diatonic scale, regardless of temperament. In this chapter, Gardner introduces the concept of a *liturgico-musical tension curve* of the services, which might serve not only to identify musical high points, but also to clarify psychological aspects of Byzantine-rite liturgical spirituality; why, for example, an abridged round of services may fail to establish the transformed consciousness of time experienced in traditional worship.

Further valuable introductory material of this sort is to be found in the prefatory material and appendices of *The Festal Menaion,* translated by Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London, 1969).

The third chapter, on Russian church singing, considers the relations among the several cycles of canonical chant and the non-canonical choral compositions (summarized in a useful table on p. 112); the kinds of notation used at various times in Russia; and the kinds of manuscript and printed books that serve as sources. Gardner's retrogressive alphabetical nomenclature for the stages of development of the stolp notation is presented; a recently proposed extension of it[3] is ignored. The last chapter discusses the periodization of the history of Russian church singing.

The discussion would have benefited at several points, especially in the last two chapters, from greater recognition of the role of the Ruthenian (Belorussian and Ukrainian) chant tradition, which developed along distinctive lines beginning probably in the late fifteenth century and served as the main source of innovations in the Russian tradition proper (the Novgorod-Muscovite tradition). Gardner is well aware of this factor, but mentions it only in passing because it "has not yet been satisfactorily researched" (p. 142). This is quite true, but enough is known to justify regarding it as a third major category of East Slavic church singing in addition to the two (the singing of the Muscovite state church and of the Old Believers) recognized by Gardner (p. 101). This would involve expanding the discussion beyond the Russian sphere, but, as Gardner acknowledges, much of the history of the latter remains incomprehensible apart from Ukrainian-Belorussian influence. In this respect, Gardner's discussion seems a bit old-fashioned and over-cautious. So does some of the terminology (e.g., "the western and southwestern parts of the Russian metropolitanate," p. 105).

In general, however, the book deserves high praise, as the only competent introduction in English to much of the material it covers. Beginning students need no longer be frustrated and discouraged by the lack of a competent introduction. And students of Ukrainian church singing will find here, in spite of Gardner's reluctance to deal with Ruthenian materials directly, a useful conceptual framework for their own investigations.

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[3] Margarete Ditterich, *Untersuchungen zum altrussischen Akzent anhand von Kirchengesangshandschriften*, Slavistische Beiträge, 86 (Munich, 1975), p. 138.

LOT'S WIFE AND THE VENUS OF MILO: CONFLICTING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CULTURE OF MODERN RUSSIA. By *Boris Thomson.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1978. 171 pp. $23.95.

*Lot's Wife* is a "salty" book (defined by Webster's as "agreeably provocative") which pillories several pillars of Soviet culture, Marxism, the Marxist aesthetic, and Western rationalism in general. In the book, Professor Thomson suggests that there is an internal contradiction in the Marxist aesthetic which refuses to condemn certain keystones of Western bourgeois culture (the "Venus of Milo" of the title) while arguing that it is dangerous and even destructive (as it was for Lot's wife) to look back at the old world. Although the book aims primarily to examine the resultant contradictory attitudes towards the past in early Soviet culture, it also attempts to suggest "the impossibility of fitting art into a Marxist framework" at all and thus to question the validity of a Marxist (or, for that matter, any all-encompassing) system.

Thomson's book is structured on the paradoxes resulting in early Soviet culture from a dual attitude of reverence and hostility towards the culture of the past. The book is divided into two parts — the first more "theoretical," the second more practical criticism. After a brief discussion of the Marxist and pre-revolutionary Symbolist and Futurist views of the culture of the past, Thomson focuses in part 1 on Mikhail Gershenzon and Viacheslav Ivanov's *Correspondence from Two Corners* (which he sees as a summary of the various pre-revolutionary debates regarding past culture) and then treats in more detail the changes in the attitudes expressed by Alexander Blok toward the culture of the past, and, finally, the Soviet and Marxist views of art in the 1920s. In part 2, Thomson argues convincingly that this dual Soviet attitude of reverence and hostility toward past culture created, in effect, a mythic pattern with its own specific themes and imagery which can be seen in many works of early Soviet literature. In this section he treats works ranging from Khlebnikov's *Night Search* and Bagritskii's *February* (which are examined in some detail) to works by Babel, Leonov, Zamiatin, Pilniak, and Platonov. In addition to demonstrating the opposition of the two basic images of his title in early Soviet literature, Thomson presents fascinating material on the role of the recurrent etymological pun on the name Vladimir ("ruler/possessor of the world"), reflecting the attempt of the new Soviet culture to "possess" and "master" the old culture of the pre-revolutionary bourgeois world, and the related image of the prostitute referring to that old culture, which was thus depicted as attractive but dangerously syphilitic (reflecting, he might have added, the dangers of the old-world Venus of his title). Despite the reverence towards the new Attila (who would destroy everything and prepare the way for the new), "original sin" (a metaphor for the old culture which, in Leonid

Leonov's phrase, "treads on our heels inexorably") continued to plague the new Soviet Adam.

Although Thomson's title and subtitle imply a broad approach to modern Russian culture as a whole (leading the Library of Congress to classify it with books on "Arts, Modern — 20th century Russia") his book is almost exclusively about literature. Indeed, it is disappointing that Thomson never deals with similar problems in art, music, and especially film (where the opposition between the old and the new was particularly clear). Although it is fully possible that Thomson's conclusions would remain unchanged if he had broadened his approach, the subtitle is, at the very least, a bit of a misnomer.

Thomson's book presents a strong personal statement which at points tries to break the bounds of the traditional academic tome. The book represents a polemic against the Marxist aesthetic and hence against Marxism itself. (He notes that "any theory of man that treats art merely as an afterthought stands self-condemned.") Throughout the book, Thomson stresses the contradictions inherent in both the Marxist and the Soviet views of art and notes the paradox that the would-be society of the future has not only failed to produce any "new" culture to replace the Venus de Milo, but has in many areas become the archivist of the old; he argues that "societies get the culture, both official and unofficial, that they deserve."

Thomson's personal statements go far beyond politics. While I applaud the principle of personality in an academic text, I wonder whether it is really necessary for his reader to know that the author loves Bruckner or that Carl Neilsen leaves him cold. Chapter 7 ("Some Properties of Art") reflects a bit too much of the influence of Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (which is never mentioned by name, but, in a form typical of the book, is clearly implied by the mention of motorcycle maintenance on page 144 and a reference in the index to an unmentioned Robert Pirsig on that same page). This chapter implies that art by its very nature undermines *any* rationalistic theory (be it Marxism or "THE" theory of literature currently fashionable in the West) because it affirms human nature, which by definition *can't* be placed into predetermined bounds. I assume that these personal comments represent an attempt to make the book's form fit its content and in the process imply a belief (if I am reading correctly) that criticism itself should strive to become art and hence should, ideally, read like a novel and present a strong sense of individual personality. That sense of personality is certainly in this book, and if the work does not always read like a novel, it does read well and does examine in an interesting, challenging, and sometimes subtle way one of the major dilemmas of early Soviet culture which still lurks there today.

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